

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Rogier van der Weyden
and the Master of
Flémalle

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

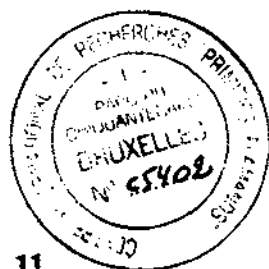
Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle

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VOLUME II

Max J. Friedländer



Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle

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FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK . WASHINGTON

BOOKS THAT MATTER

Published in the United States of America in 1967
by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers
111 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

The original German edition of *Die Altniederländische
Malerei* was published between 1924 and 1937 by Paul
Cassirer, Berlin (Vol. I-XI) and A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden
(Vol. XII-XIV).

Published under the direction of Ernest Goldschmidt

Design Frits Stoepman, Amsterdam

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A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij, n.v. 1967
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 67-13538
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Printed in Belgium and in the Netherlands.

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This edition is published under the auspices and with the aid of the Governments of Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands within the framework of their Cultural Agreements.

The publishers wish to express their gratitude to the chairman and members of the Committees for the Application of the Cultural Agreements between Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands for granting most valuable aid for research and editorial work, and to address also their sincere thanks to the members of the Advisory Committee, the Administrative Services of International Cultural Affairs, the editors, the translator and all those who by their work or advice have contributed to the realization of this new edition of Max J. Friedländer's major work.

Table of Contents

9	Foreword
11	The Road to Rogier
22	Rogier's Half-Length Madonnas and Portraits
28	The Character and Style of Rogier van der Weyden
34	The Master of Flémalle, Robert Campin and Jacques Daret
45	Conclusions and Conjectures on the Relationship between Rogier and the Master of Flémalle
48	Drawings, Tapestries and Embroideries
51	Rogier's Influence
53	Supplement to Rogier van der Weyden (from Volume XIV)
57	The Putative Vrancke van der Stockt (from Volume XIV)
59	The Catalogues
95	Editor's Note
99	Notes
105	Index of Places
115	Plates

Foreword

Authors should bear the burden of the ascent alone, leaving to the reader only the privilege of enjoying the view. Ah, if that were only possible! In this case it is not. I have examined pictures, become familiar from books with the to and fro of contradictory claims and finally formed my own views. I might now present my findings as the 'established state of affairs.' My views, however, have always been in a perpetual state of flux and change—and I both fear and hope they will continue in that state. Hence I feel an obligation to let the unfortunate reader share in the work, to give him an opportunity to apply his own checks. Let him see how I arrived at my views and judge their worth. It is with this purpose in mind that I have arranged my material. My text goes the way of the quest, not of the historical events.

Our first goal is to come to know two Netherlandish masters who played dominant rôles in the time of Jan van Eyck and immediately after. I shall put them in juxtaposition and opposition. Our next goal will be to illuminate the relationship of these two masters, one to the other. Much will depend on this relationship. Until it is clarified—and I am not able to clarify it completely—no light can be thrown on the origins of either. But before considering and weighing that relationship, I shall first project a picture of the characters of the two. Hence what should be the beginning comes at the end, which will be on a note of mystery and conjecture.

I am too considerate of the reader to bring the confusion of opinion before him in its fulness. Much of it I have discarded and eliminated. The most complete account of the older researches—although, unfortunately, it is ill-organized—will be found in the French edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Les Anciens Peintres Flamands*, with notes by Alex. Pinchart and Ch. Ruelens, Brussels and Paris, 1862 and 1863 (hereinafter cited as Crowe-Cavalcaselle). Among the newer literature, several essays by G. Hulin (de Loo) in the *Burlington Magazine* and elsewhere are particularly valuable. Also of enduring merit is Friedrich Winkler's book, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Heitz, Strasbourg, 1913 (hereinafter cited as Winkler). It contains a wealth of observations on pictures and their interrelationships, and pursues the compositions with the tireless zeal of the huntsman. Not quite so reliable as these aspects, although still very noteworthy, are Winkler's statements on the merits and the state of the paintings.

The organic growth of the kind of insight fostered by Hulin and Winkler, is, alas, all too often stunted by obstructive opposition. First come those ill-qualified speakers who insist on taking or sharing the floor with mistaken but vocal observations that drown out the more modestly stated views of the handful of experts. Then come the careless hacks who present the reader with 'established facts'—that is to say, the latest views of which they have heard. Finally come the pedantic advocates of new theories, which they 'prove' by suppressing all the negative arguments, the desire for 'successful' research usually outstripping adherence to truth. Any chance observation must be squeezed dry to yield the utmost in 'significant scholarship.'

One of the commonest cases arises when two pictures show so much agreement that a connection between them becomes evident. The delighted observer at once draws one of two conclusions: either painter A has copied from painter B, has learned from him or been his pupil; or *vice versa*. In most cases, these alternatives do not actually apply—particularly with the material we have to disentangle here. The odds are rather that A and B shared a single source, from which they may not even have worked at first hand. It is certainly true that error of this kind is much simpler than the truth; and when, in exceptional cases, it becomes possible to unravel the truth, one is always struck by its subtlety.

In Winkler's book, the total picture that emerges is more important than his demonstrations in individual cases, from which he often draws doubtful conclusions. He does afford us insight into the working methods of Netherlandish painters' studios, into the way compositions drifted from shop to shop.

My views on the individual works are set down in the various Catalogues. Into my narrative as such, I have admitted only examples—guideposts and milestones that seemed essential or, indeed, indispensable in telling about the masters and their development.

The numbers between parentheses have reference to the Catalogues.

The Road to Rogier

Access to Rogier van der Weyden runs along a road that is narrow and winding. Not a single painting is authenticated by signature as his, nor, strictly speaking, are there any with which are associated documents that unmistakably mention his name.

We actually encounter two Rogiers in van Mander's collection of biographical sketches¹. He first mentions a *Rogier van Brugghe* as a disciple of Jan van Eyck, and then a *Rogier van der Weyde, schilder van Brussel*. Van Mander was in error, as is almost universally agreed of late, yet it is a strange error, hard to explain. He apparently encountered a Rogierian tradition in both Brussels and Bruges. Possibly the master, whom documents show to have held the post of official painter to the municipality of Brussels, worked in Bruges for a while. In any event, creations by his hand were to be seen in Bruges. Dürer admired in the church of St. James there *Köstliche Gemälde von Rudiger*, and, in the Prinsenhof, *Rudigers gemalt Capelln*². Vaernewyck reports: *Die stadt van Brugghe is verschiert niet alleene in die kerken maer ook in die huysen van... meester Rogiers... schilderie*³.

The name turns up in the records of three towns, Tournai, Brussels and Ghent. There is, of course, a predisposition to assume that the same person is meant each time, especially since it is a rare and unusual name. Yet the *Roegere van Bruesele* who became a full-fledged master in Ghent in 1414⁴ fits in so poorly with other documents, in terms of time, that he has been eliminated, as another and older master. The findings in Tournai and Brussels, on the other hand, can by some stretch be reconciled with the life story of one man. He was born in Tournai about 1400—or so, at least, all the books and catalogues state, investing the date with the authority of tradition. Actually, we do not know the year of Rogier's birth (11). What we do know is that in 1427 he was apprenticed to Robert Campin in Tournai, where he acquired his patent as a master in 1432; and that by 1435 he had a son already eight years old, hence must have been married by 1426. The records say: *Rogelet de le Pasture, natif de Tournay, commencha son appresure le cinquieme jour de mars l'an mil cccc vint-six, et fu son maistre Robert Campin, peintre, lequel Rogelet a parfaict son appresure deuement avec soudict maistre*. And again: *Maistre Rogier de le Pasture natif de Tournay, fut receu à la francise du mestier des peintres le premier jour d'aoust l'an dessus dit [1432]*⁵.

A.J. Wauters questions the credibility of the former document, citing the odd element of the date⁶. By 1427 Rogier was beyond the customary age of apprenticeship. In another document, moreover, he figures as *maistre* as early as 17th November 1426, a date on which the city fathers of Tournai proffered him eight measures of wine, clearly constituting some form of honour or emolument for services rendered a year before he became an apprentice! And if Rogier, in 1427, was beyond the customary age of apprenticeship, he may as well have been 37 as 27, and we are unable to fix the date of his birth.

It is usual to relate these documents to one and the same person; and one may conjecture that Rogier followed another trade—say, that of sculptor or goldsmith

1. Floerke's edition, pp. 48 and 72.

2. Lange and Fuhse, *Dürer's Schriftlicher Nachlass*, p. 156.

3. *Historie van Belgis*, 1568, p. 133.

4. Crowe-Cavalcaselle, Vol. 2, p. 127 (Ruelens).

5. M. Genard, *Luister van S. Lucas Gilde*, Antwerpen, 1856, p. 27.

6. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 22, p. 75 ff.

—before he entered Campin's studio in 1427 to be apprenticed as a painter. If, on the other hand, the discrepancy in the dates mentioned in the documents is allowed to invalidate the view that one person is meant⁷, the whole biographical structure collapses. In particular, we should have to drop the conclusions that connect the town painter of Brussels with Robert Campin.

The association of Rogier with the city of Brussels seems to have begun at an early date. Elisabeth Goffaerts, the wife he married prior to 1426, came from Brussels. Soon after 1432, and certainly before 1435, he settled in Brussels and was appointed official painter to the municipality. About 1435 he is mentioned in Brussels as the recipient of an annuity due from the town of Tournai, which agreeably confirms the identity of the masters mentioned in the two places. A resolution of the Brussels magistrates is on record under date of 2nd May 1436, according to which the office of official painter was to lapse upon Rogier's death. This has a strange ring to it, for the incumbent was certainly not of advanced years, and he could have held the office but a short time (21).

There are further entries that testify to the fruitful activity Rogier displayed in Brussels. He died there on 16th June 1464. His family continued to live in Brussels. The gaps in the Brussels record are wide enough to allow for the possibility of travel and work elsewhere, say, in Louvain, Bruges, Tournai or Dijon. A journey to Italy in the time around 1450 is documented by Fazio⁸, at a rather early date—indeed, while the master was still alive. *Rogierius Gallicus insignis pictor*, he says, came to Italy in the year of the jubilee.

Among the works van Mander attributes to this Rogier or the other, we can identify the *Descent from the Cross*, now in the Escorial (3, Plates 6, 7). On the other hand, Rogier's *chef d'œuvre*, four historical representations dealing with justice, in the Brussels town hall, perished in 1695. The inscriptions on this work were copied at an early date and tell us of its contents. The historical museum in Berne has a tapestry that includes the same text, almost verbatim (Plate 132c). There is reason for believing that this tapestry follows the Rogierian composition to some extent, and efforts have been made in Berne to reconstruct the lost work⁹.

Each of the four scenes in the tapestry has a different width, while the inscribed scrolls, each of approximately the same width, irritatingly run across the divisions. The paintings in the town hall were probably equal in width. From the stylistic exigencies of his trade, the tapestry designer crowded his compositions together as much as possible, a process in which the scene with Trajan, because of its abundance of figures, came out much wider than the others. I hesitate, therefore, to draw conclusions about Rogier's painting from the tapestry. Nevertheless, the types and postures seem to preserve much of the original.

A document with the date of 1439 tells us that Rogier polychromed a work of statuary for Philip the Good in Brussels¹⁰.

In the year 1446, he painted a Madonna with two angels for the Carmelite friary in Brussels, a triptych one wing of which showed a knight of the Golden Fleece with his family¹¹. We encounter strange difficulties when we try to find panels in our present stock that are associated with Rogier's name by documentary evidence or by reliable tradition going back far enough. Three altarpieces may be considered 'authenticated' works:

7. Winkler inclines to this view—cf. p. 195, note 1.

8. *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 167.

9. Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, 1876, p. 302 ff.: H. Kauffmann, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 39, 1916, p. 15 ff.

10. Crowe-Cavalcaselle, Vol. 2, p. 131.

11. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 132: Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, Vol. 2, p. 293.

The so-called Miraflores altarpiece in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

The *Descent from the Cross* in the Escorial.

The so-called Cambrai altarpiece in the Prado, Madrid.

The Spanish traveller Ponz saw the Miraflores altarpiece in its monastery setting about 1780, describing it unmistakably¹², with the statement that Pope Martin had presented it to King John II of Castile, who gave it to the monastery in 1445. Ponz quoted the donation of 1445 and the painter's name (*magister Rogel*) in Latin from the monastery's document book, but added the report about Pope Martin (who died as early as 1431) in Spanish. As a *terminus ante quem*, the year 1431 seems doubtful, for Rogier did not become a master at Tournai until 1432.

A. J. Wauters seeks to promote the claims of the town of Louvain to Rogier¹³. One of his main works was located there. Molanus calls him *civis et pictor Lovaniensis*¹⁴. There is mention in Louvain of a sculptor named Henry van der Weyden who could have been Rogier's father. Wauters 'proves' that Rogier worked in Louvain as a master prior to 1427. The Miraflores altarpiece is seen as a gift to Pope Martin from the town of Louvain, part of its efforts on behalf of the founding of the university, about 1425. The so-called *Medici Madonna* (21, Plate 42) is also put into this Louvain period. All this is doubtful.

An opportunity is afforded to approach the dating of the Miraflores altarpiece from another side. A figure in the righthand panel of this triptych, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, agrees in posture with the figure of John the Baptist in the Werl altarpiece in Madrid (67, Plate 96), which is dated 1438 and ascribed to the so-called Master of Flémalle. Since the posture seems to be more successful in the Miraflores altarpiece, a date prior to 1438 has been obtained for this work.

The Berlin triptych, apparently identical with the one described by Ponz, has recently turned out to be an exact replica of an altarpiece preserved in part in the Capilla Real at Granada¹⁵ (1, Plates 1, 2). The missing righthand panel, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, turned up in Spain and landed in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, with the Dreicer collection. The two panels in Granada are in a high and dark location and not easily accessible. They have never been carefully examined (31). I have, however, carefully compared the panel now kept in New York with the corresponding one in Berlin, only to find that agreement between the two replicas is astonishingly close. The Berlin altarpiece appears to be slightly the lesser work, but beyond any question was painted in Rogier's studio about the same time as the Granada altarpiece. Thus, whatever date is assigned to the Miraflores altarpiece—prior to 1445, prior to 1438, or prior to 1431 (?)—applies to the Granada altarpiece as well.

Firmly linked with Rogier's name through several statements made in the 16th century is one of the most important of all Netherlandish compositions, the *Descent from the Cross*, the finest specimen of which by far is preserved in the Escorial (3, Plates 6, 7). In the biography of his Brussels Rogier, van Mander places this picture in the church of Our Lady Outside the Walls at Louvain. He adds that the panel was dispatched to the king of Spain. Molanus reports that *Magister Rogerius civis et pictor Lovaniensis* painted the Edelheer altarpiece in Louvain for the church of St. Peter, and also the main altarpiece in the chapel of the Virgin, which Queen Mary, King Philip's aunt, demanded of the crossbowmen's guild and sent to Spain, giving

12. *Viage de España*, Vol. 12, 1783, p. 57; von Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 31, 1910, p. 55.

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. Manuscript published by Ruelens, Crowe-Cavalcaselle, Vol. 2, p. 132.

15. Von Loga, *loc. cit.*, p. 47 ff.

in return a copy by Michael Coxcie (3b, Plate 9). The specimen in the Escorial is identifiable as the property of the crossbowmen's guild by the sign of the crossbow in the upper corners. It is true, however, that these insignia are also to be found in the Berlin copy of 1488. Cornelis Cort engraved this composition as early as 1563, attaching Rogier's name to it¹⁶. The panel in the Escorial is presumably identical with the one mentioned by van Mander and Molanus and was listed as a work of Rogier in the inventories of King Philip as early as 1574¹⁷.

The Edelheer Altarpiece mentioned by Molanus still stands in the church of St. Peter in Louvain today (3e, Plate 8), with an inscription that says it was presented in 1443. Judging from the style, this triptych is scarcely Rogier's work; its centre panel is nothing more than a copy, in reduced size, of that other *Descent from the Cross* once in Louvain. We thus have the date before which the picture in the Escorial must have been painted.

We are indebted to de Laborde for certain facts about the Cambrai altarpiece¹⁸ (47, Plates 66, 67). He discovered a document, according to which Jean Robert, Abbot of St. Aubert in Cambrai, in 1455 ordered from *Maistre Rogier de le Pasture* in Brussels an altarpiece, delivered in September 1459, that was to include eleven scenes and be six-and-a-half feet high and five wide. The themes, unfortunately, are not given. The centre panel of the triptych in the Prado, which Waagen, from these data, has identified as the Cambrai altarpiece¹⁹, measures 195 × 172 cm. When the shutters are closed, the measurements given in the document would thus approximately apply. True, it is not altogether easy to pick out eleven scenes in this work; but the combination has much to be said for it 141.

Taken alone, each of these three pieces of evidence may be weak, yet they do reinforce one another. However different in kind and quality, all three works point to a single workshop. They display the same style, a style that was evidently dominant in the Netherlands about 1450. We need have no hesitation, therefore, in trusting the evidence and attributing this style, which we now recognize in broad outline, to Rogier. He was, after all, as proclaimed by many voices, a famous painter, more renowned than any of his contemporaries, described by Nicolaus Cusanus in 1451 as *maximus pictor*²⁰. To pick out his personal achievement from among the best works in this style becomes a task all the more urgent, since quite clearly a great many copies were turned out in his busy workshop, while his compositions were widely repeated elsewhere too, even after his death.

Fazio tells us Rogier travelled to Italy in the Holy Year, that is 1450. Now at least three paintings, associated with Rogier purely on the basis of stylistic analysis, seem to have been done on Italian soil. We thus get not only further evidence pointing in the same direction as stylistic analysis and documentation, but a presumable date for the panels done in Italy. In Ferrara, Rogier executed commissions for Lionello d'Este. We have a document recording that *M^o Roziero* received payment for *certe depincture delo illustrissimo olim nostro S [Lionello] che lui faveca fare a Belfiori*²¹. Reputedly, Rogier even coached certain painters in Ferrara, notably Angelo da Siena and Galasso²².

The *Entombment* in the Uffizi (22, Plate 43) is in all likelihood identical with a painting Fazio saw in the palace at Ferrara and describes as follows: *In media tabula Christus e cruce demissus, Maria mater, Maria Magdalena, Josephus ita expresso dolore,*

16. A print of this very rare engraving is in Coburg Castle (Plate 10).

17. C. Justi, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1886, p. 97.

18. *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Preuves* I, LIX.

19. *Zahns Jahrbücher*, Vol. 1, p. 40 ff.

20. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 39, p. 20.

21. Venturi, *I Primordi del Rinascimento Artistico a Ferrara*, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1884.

22. Cyriacus, reprinted in *Colucci Antiquità Picene*, Fermo, 1876.

ac lacrymis, ut a veris discrepare non existimes. The shutters, of which there is no trace, showed an *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, and the donor. The composition of the Florentine panel follows a scheme that was not customary—indeed, not used at all, to my knowledge—in the Netherlands; it has recently been shown to hark back to Fra Angelico²³. We may, therefore, take it for granted that this panel was done in Italy, about 1450—ignoring for the moment the question of whether or not it is identical with the one that was in Ferrara.

The *Virgin with Four Saints* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut is often called the *Medici Madonna* (21, Plate 42), and for good reasons²⁴. Originally from Pisa, this panel shows three escutcheons below, two of them blank, the one in the centre with the fleur-de-lis of Florence. It shows Sts. Cosmas and Damian, patrons of the Medici, who were otherwise scarcely venerated, while the two outer saints, Peter and the Baptist, point to the two sons of Cosimo de' Medici il Vecchio, Piero (1416-1469) and Giovanni (1420-1463). The serene and symmetrical composition itself has much of the Italian spirit, and we may believe with considerable assurance that it was painted for this Florentine family, most probably in Italy about 1450.

A *Portrait of Lionello d'Este* has recently turned up, reaching New York with the Friedsam collection (23, Plate 44). The identity of the sitter is clearly established by a coat of arms that appears on the back of the panel²⁵. This prince, who was born in 1407, died as early as October 1450 (151).

Rogier's stylistic phase of 1450 is reasonably clear from the paintings done in Italy; and the *Descent* in the Escorial as well as the Granada altarpiece were certainly painted before the Italian journey; moreover, indications for dating other items from the Rogierian workshop are not altogether lacking. The altarpiece in Beaune (14, Plates 23-31) was done after 1443 (presumably rather soon afterwards), for Nicolas Rolin founded the hospital in that year²⁶.

The triptych done for the Bracque family (26, Plates 46-48)—it came to the Louvre from the Duke of Westminster and Lady Theodora Guest²⁷—seems to have been done about 1452. It was a gift of Jean de Bracque and his wife Catherine de Brabant. The husband died in 1452; a year earlier the wife had been described as being 19 years of age.

On the other hand, the Bladelin altarpiece (from Middelburg), now in the Berlin museum (38, Plates 59-61), can scarcely be dated with assurance. True, Bladelin built the castle and the church in his home town of Middelburg between 1446 and 1450; but it is conceivable that the altarpiece was painted earlier and only subsequently taken to the church in Middelburg.

Virtually all the dates that have been established are to some extent elastic. It is up to stylistic analysis to check them. Of particular importance would be some knowledge of the master's beginnings. Rogier's approach and style of composition are already mature, not to say rigidified, prior to 1438, as demonstrated in the Granada altarpiece. No profound transformation is evident between this work and those done about 1450, but there is a conspicuous gap between the panel in the Escorial and the pictures of about 1450. True, the unusually large format and scale of that panel contribute to its extraordinary effect, yet one feels the need to explain its peculiarities in terms of a lapse of time as well. Rogier's overall approach, which is reasonably well understood, gives an inkling of the direction of his development. The

23. K. W. Jähnig, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 53, p. 171.

24. A. J. Wauters dissents—cf. *loc. cit.*

25. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 18, p. 200 ff.

26. Gandelot, *Histoire de la Ville de Beaune*, Dijon, 1772, p. 111.

27. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 4, Vol. 10, 1913, p. 257 ff.

work in the Escorial, superior to all his others in the red blood of life, could have been created only in Rogier's youth—not the first flush of youth, but rather the time when he had just found himself, when he had fought his way to freedom, autonomy and an idiom of his own. A master like Jan van Eyck was able to retain his creative spontaneity throughout his life, for he gave himself up to nature, shared in the infinite wealth of the visible world. A master like Rogier, on the other hand, was bound to fetch up in hard and fast rules rather early. The Brussels master lived as a prisoner in a cage of his own making. His forms became frozen with constant use and, in interaction with his character, his flourishing workshop and the success and prestige he attained as early as 1435 served only to accelerate the process of petrification. Rogier availed himself of observation, but what dominated him was the idea. I put the *Descent* at the earliest date possible, from a prejudice that stems from my general experience and from a sense of sharing the life of his imagination. Rogier may have accepted the commission from Louvain while he was still working at Tournai—or he may have spent some time in Louvain before settling in Brussels.

It made a profound impression on his contemporaries, this *Descent from the Cross* (3, Plates 6, 7), as testified to by the many copies and imitations, and it almost certainly established Rogier's fame. In its incomparable unity, it is completely successful, hitting the nail straight on the head, so to speak. One could not dream of shifting or changing anything in it—it is inconceivable in any other way. The work stands before us in supreme originality, yet like the classic and only possible solution to a problem. There is nothing arbitrary about it, nothing adventitiously individual. It bears the aspect of a piece of sculpture, realized in the medium of painting. The figures, arranged in a single rank within a shallow recess, are invested with an air of neither time nor place and thus given an aspect of ideal immediacy, like a parable for all time. Space is at a premium, and almost every inch of it is pre-empted. Each figure seems to be in the precise place where it must be, and nowhere else. Freedom of movement is limited on every side. Yet within this limited scope there is a natural albeit artful flow of uninterrupted rhythms, with a sense of symmetry just beneath the surface. Caught in sculptural form, grief and sorrow have nowhere to ebb away. The painter has seized upon the medium of relief to concentrate and enhance, in almost abstract form, the power of the dramatic event that is taking place.

Rogier may have worked as a sculptor before he became a painter. One might advance a pettifogging argument—that this early work shows the hand of a sculptor; and that it must be an early work, because it reveals the sculptor. As a rule, painters in those days were familiar with sculpture. Not only did they polychrome statuary, but one of the challenges to the art of painting was to create the illusion of sculpture, especially on the outsides of the shutters of altarpieces. Conceivably, the painting took the form it did, because it was so specified in the commission rather than because the painter wished it so. However that may be, and whether or not Rogier ever worked as a sculptor, the fact that he created his masterpiece on the dividing-line between painting and sculpture, so to speak, and that this spurred rather than slowed his imagination tells much about his disposition.

The panel in the Escorial does not by any means aspire to convey the illusion of statuary. No, the illusion is of life itself—the figures are full of colour and realism.

Yet there is a certain sculptural quality, insofar as the group is torn from any natural spatial context and crowded instead into its shallow recess. It is a device that combines in singular fashion the proximity yet aloofness inherent in sculpture with all the qualities of illusion painting has to offer. There is something inexorable about the event that is depicted. No effort is made to soften the impact. The body of Jesus is being lowered from the cross, not at some particular time and place, but here and now and forevermore and in broad daylight. You can reach out and touch it. The abstract, neutral gold ground serves as a foil for the three-dimensional realism of the figures. Grief appears in every nuance of intensity, from the Virgin's swoon and Mary Magdalene's unrestrained outburst to the Evangelist's contained gravity and the gentle ministrations of the old men. All the means at the disposal of sculptor and painter have been gathered up to the end of making the drama of the Passion a memorable event, and everything has been left out that might in any way interrupt it or break the spell. Because of its unwonted scale, matchless conception and unique compositional scheme, the *Descent from the Cross* is not immediately comparable with any of Rogier's other works. We must be on the look-out for works on a smaller scale, done in a more normal style, which will nevertheless be recognizable as dating from the same period as that heroic and dramatic achievement.

Closest to the panel in the Escorial are the two *Visitations*, in Turin and Lützschen (5, 6, Plates 12, 13). The companion to the picture in Turin is a panel in which the figure of a donor has been completely overpainted, while the landscape is immaculately preserved. These two *Visitations* represent solutions to the self-same problem, similar, of equal merit and executed at the same time. The compositions do not actually coincide anywhere, but neither does any intention on the part of the painter not to repeat himself obtrude. Both panels show the Virgin as a pure and graceful figure of middle height and modest bearing, placing her left hand upon Elisabeth's body, while gathering up her cloak with the right. The panel at Lützschen is wider in proportion than the one at Turin, hence the two women stand a bit farther apart and the gesture of greeting is rather different. There are subtle distinctions in the way the hands cross, among many other things. In the Lützschen version, the Virgin is full of feeling, in the one in Turin she is more aloof and coy. Here as there a path winds up on the right towards a hill richly set with buildings. In Turin, it is a castle, half Gothic, half Romanesque; in Lützschen, a Gothic church with a Romanesque tower and other annexes. To the left in both pictures is a distant landscape view with houses, hedgerows and bodies of water. The sky is sprinkled with delicate white clouds. Birds fly through the air and slender trees unfold lofty curtains of thin foliage.

These scenes have a certain epic quality coupled with an idyllic family air that is heightened by the abundant and minute detail of the landscape backgrounds. At first blush they seem to have nothing in common with the tragic force in the panel in the Escorial. But when one does look closely, one soon perceives the same creative power, the same feeling for nature, the same acuteness of observation. The drapery—which always gives the freest scope to idiosyncrasy—reveals the self-same imagination in its alternation of curving lines with others that are more contained. It is the identical spirit that created, in the *Descent*, with the same spontaneity and at the same age, those folded and knotted and wrinkled white kerchiefs. In its counterpoint of

firmness and pliancy, Mary Magdalene's robe in the Escorial is derived from the same basic melody as the robes of the old women in Turin and Lützschen. Their faces, on the other hand, resemble the head of the weeping old woman at the extreme left in the *Descent*, with heavy, almost swollen lips and slightly pendulous noses. The broad hands with fingers that are not over long, slightly swollen knuckles and carefully observed skin folds lack the healthy power and grip of those in the Escorial panel. Yet when one looks at them closely, they are neither different in structure and expression, nor in any way inferior.

Scaled down to still another order of format, we encounter this style again in the two small panels, almost miniatures, in the Vienna Staatsgalerie, a *Virgin Standing*, and a *St. Catherine* (7, Plates 14, 15); and also in the seated *Virgin* in the Northbrook collection (8, Plate 16). The pictures in Vienna presumably belong together, as the centrepiece and right shutter of a small triptych. They are only 19 cm. high, the one in London only 14. This small scale entails a filigree-like delicacy, in sharpest contrast to the massive pathos of the *Descent*. The Vienna *Virgin* stands in a niche whose back wall is lined with brocade. It is filled at the top with meagre, metallic, downward slanting tracery, not unlike the panel in the Escorial. There is a slight curve to the full, standing figure, and the face has an almost masklike quality, as though it were done in *repoussé*, again not unlike the face of the swooning *Virgin* in the Escorial panel. In her features and in the flow of her open hair, the virginal *St. Catherine* is reminiscent of the *Virgin* in the panel at Lützschen. Several traits show an affinity with the art of Jan van Eyck. The infant Jesus is pressed to his mother's breast in a complex attitude, head turned to the side, body turned to the back, recalling van Eyck's *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* of 1439 (in Antwerp), as well as the *Virgin* derived from that painting, in the Metropolitan Museum at New York. There are still other aspects that point to Jan van Eyck—the play of light on the brocade, an attempt at chiaroscuro rather unfamiliar in Rogier, a sensuous warmth in the relation between mother and child to which we are not accustomed and, lastly, drapery folds in the robe of *St. Catherine* that are notably straight and taut. Rogier has been shown to have been in touch with the Burgundian prince who held court in Brussels, which means that he entered a circle where Jan van Eyck was greatly admired. He executed commissions for several personages close to the court, moreover—Chancellor Rolin, for example. He may thus scarcely have been able to avoid inveiglement into a style quite foreign to his own. He knew Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin*, as his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, with its landscape, testifies. This slight inclination towards Eyckian art, plainest to us in the little picture in Vienna, could have been scarcely more than an episode, at the time when the master, still unsettled, first became acquainted with the works of his predecessor, that is between 1435 and 1440.

The stylistic phase of 1450 can be grasped by studying the two compositions that probably originated in Italy, the *Medici Madonna* in Frankfurt, and the *Entombment* in Florence. Far from the familiar bustle of his own workshop, Rogier may have been particularly eager to prove himself in the eyes of such discriminating patrons as the lords of Florence and Ferrara. He did his very best abroad, relying wholly on his own hand, as any examination of these well-preserved panels will show. In both these compositions, the Netherlandish master accepted a basically Southern ap-

proach, although without really changing his own formal idiom, which had hardened into habit by long use.

In the Frankfurt panel (21, Plate 42), five full-length figures stand side by side, each of equal prominence. The Virgin is in the centre, standing atop a triple-stepped pedestal. St. John the Baptist stands with one foot on the first, the other on the second step. One of the Medici patron saints on the right stands entirely on the first step, while on the extreme right and left the other Medici patron saint and St. Peter have their feet on the greensward. The line of heads describes an arch, closely parallel to the rounded termination of the panel. The Virgin stands just within a tentlike bower, the white flaps of which are held open by two hovering angels. This *sacra conversazione* is organized in symmetrical repose and makes an unadorned impression, for all Gothic scrollwork has been omitted. There is about it an air of frugal containment and anxious dignity. The Virgin's countenance is graceful and even. Her hair is brown, her mouth large, her lips lightly swelling. Her hands are over delicate and mobile, with long, thin fingers.

The *Entombment* (22, Plate 43) is an over elaborate elegiac spectacle, perhaps by virtue of the constraint that flowed from an unfamiliar model. The passionate expressiveness with which the panel in the Escorial brims over has here waned into mere ceremonial mourning. Constant practice in depicting the Passion had gained Rogier mastery of highly disciplined and dignified expression, but his sense of vigour and immediacy had weakened. The bodies are lean and parched, without three-dimensional depth or realistic presence. Their blood runs thin. Some elements are contrived—the shroud slung about the body of Jesus, the sashlike garment that crosses Mary Magdalene's back and hangs across her arm. The draughtsmanship is precise, fine and knowledgeable, but the figures seem helpless—they shiver and stumble. The symmetry, from which Mary Magdalene and the grave of stone are excluded, is nevertheless pedantically rigid, even as it is broken. The fingers are almost morbidly pointed. They grope but do not grasp. The contours are marked with sharper lines than in the earlier works.

If the dating of the triptych the Louvre was (26, Plates 46-48) fortunate enough to acquire is correctly derived from the Bracque family's history, it must have been done about the same time as the *Entombment* in the Uffizi. This work is central to my picture of Rogier. No other shows him so far removed from all other masters. Here he has prevailed—his spirit permeates the whole conception. The physical lineaments are no more than a vessel, closed but transparent. The hieratic task, and the form the master chose in solving it, demanded no more than the presence of the holy personages, to radiate their sacred and divine essence. It was a task made to order for Rogier with his tremendous power of creating types, and one in which he succeeded. The figures, in half-length, are strung together symmetrically, almost shoulder to shoulder, at the same level in the foreground. No sign here of the middle ground, which always gave this painter trouble. The landscape background is spread out like a carpet. No one is even tempted to inquire about the why and wherefore of these relieflike figures. Chaste and sublime, this triptych is the epitome of Christianity, rivalled by no other picture, even while keen observation of the human form has invested Rogier's vision with an unforgettable air of immediacy.

Jesus is at the centre, sombre, of minatory gravity, stripped of all worldly adorn-

ment, commanding in gaze and gesture, as though at the Last Judgment. The saintly women are lambent, dedicated, with noble features purged of all sorrow. The Evangelist and the Baptist are men of maturity, with brooding faces that bespeak past suffering. Infinite skill and subtlety of form have here been harnessed to the service of the Christian mythology.

Compared with this triptych in the Louvre, the *Descent* in the Escorial is sumptuous, rich, sensuous. A more sublime degree of spiritualization, of limitation to the essential had been reached about 1450—although not without paying a price.

The road that had been taken is now established, and its direction was to be expected. Still, the grouping of the master's work as a whole poses formidable problems. If we rule out regular and progressive development, comparisons among the works become dubious, because differences in the various challenges, subject and format play an important part in determining the style. The state of preservation, moreover, creates further differences. Then too, the hand of assistants is discernible here and there. Lastly, opportunities for scrutiny are by no means even. Some of the paintings are close to us, easy of access, while others are less favourably placed and have not been easy to view for some time.

The altarpiece at Granada, which tradition inclines us to date from Rogier's early period (see p. 13, above), was done at much the same time as the St. John altarpiece in Berlin, which is similar in format and compositional approach.

The impeccably preserved Bladelin altarpiece in the Berlin museum fits in fairly well with the altarpieces done about 1450. The altarpiece of the Sacraments in the Antwerp museum (16, Plates 34, 35), well-preserved but for a few ravaged heads, seems to have been painted a bit earlier. The triptych at Vienna (11, Plates 18, 19), with a *Crucifixion* as the centrepiece, was done about 1440, I should say.

If it is indeed the Cambrai altarpiece, completed in 1459, the triptych in Madrid (47, Plates 66, 67) should give us a good picture of Rogier's late style, but quite apart from its uncertain identification, this work displays so many unfamiliar traits and its draughtsmanship is so unsatisfactory that we must at best assume that assistants had a major hand in it (61).

No certain judgment can be given concerning *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (106, Plates 118, 119), the best-known specimen of which hangs in the Pinakothek in Munich (106a, Plate 119), since presumably none of the surviving replicas can be regarded as the original, painted by Rogier's own hand (171). The hints of Jan van Eyck in this work can be cited in favour of a rather early date of origin, about 1440. The unusual weight given to the landscape background, the enhancement of depth by means of two figures seen from the rear, these are compositional elements that would never have occurred to Rogier unaided. Undoubtedly the stimulus came from Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin*.

Like the *St. Luke* in Munich, the triptych in the Pinakothek with an *Adoration* (49, Plates 70-72) as the centrepiece is marred by restorations (81). It comes from the church of St. Columba in Cologne. My suspicion that this is a very late work, about 1460, is primarily based on its emptiness of form, the tired and indifferent expressions. Memling, moreover, knew this composition, as his own *Adorations* in the Prado and in Bruges testify, and Memling could have scarcely worked in Rogier's studio before 1458. But then, Memling knew the altarpiece at Beaune as well, as

his own altarpiece at Danzig shows. Yet the St. Columba altarpiece is close to Memling even in style. The Madonna type, especially, is reminiscent of him.

If this view of the final direction of Rogier's style is correct, the large and somewhat arid *Annunciation* (48, Plate 69), which went to the Metropolitan Museum in New York from the Ashburnham, R. Kann and Pierpont Morgan collections, must be reckoned a very late work of the master.

Rogier's Half-Length Madonnas and Portraits

Rogier developed the devotional picture, in the narrower sense, more firmly and influentially than did Jan van Eyck. The Madonna was an object of worship. Rogier truly established the Madonna in half-length, a picture type cultivated in all the studios of the Netherlands in the second half of the 15th century; or rather, he breathed new life into it, having recourse to tradition. Some of the popular compositions at half-length, oft-repeated and modified, go back to Rogier's invention, directly or indirectly. Not in all cases is it possible to trace the basic idea back to an original. Many of the archetypal paintings are lost, and intermediate links too are missing. Late copies enable us to build up lost originals. On more than one occasion, we can see that the figure in half-length was originally in full-length. Rogier's style remains perceptible in the main traits of late and feeble imitations.

Singlemindedly concentrating on what was essential to the mood of devotion, Rogier created simple compositions that were easily imitated and conformed to popular taste. His strength lay in his ability to cast the Virgin into a mould, and the faithful grew familiar with his vision of her.

Jan van Eyck always went for the full-length figure. His need for organic context created the Virgin's environment, setting and home—his joy in space, in the diversity of the visible, his sense of the logic of light, his pleasure in human relations. He was a painter in search of natural pictorial values, as opposed to the draughtsman and sculptor who sought to isolate his subjects. In painting the Virgin's countenance large, dominating the picture, light on a neutral dark ground, relieflike, Rogier satisfied a general need. Space, views, embellishments—these he felt to be diversions that detracted from ecclesiastical tranquillity and spiritual contemplation.

The Madonna's freedom of movement seems always to be limited by the picture frame. She pushes against the top of it and seems to bend within the all-too-narrow space. Pressure from without determines the composition. Mother and child move with difficulty, under tension, against an interplay of forces dramatic in effect, rather than with relaxed ease. The child is lean, stiff and awkward rather than round and strapping, let alone blooming. In the Christian view, all that was naked was seen as something that was wretched, deprived, uncovered. The child has but poor command of his long, gangling, jerky limbs. He neither stands nor lies nor sits properly. Held by his mother, he squirms, stretches, fidgets, pulls at his toes, discomfits her with his gawky movements.

The widest distribution of any of Rogier's compositions was achieved by his Madonna with St. Luke perhaps because this painting was exposed to the painters in their own guildchapel (106, Plate 118, 119). The main features recur in many pictures—the Virgin proffering her breast with one hand while reaching under the child's arm with the other to hold him; the kerchief that has slipped from her head and is draped about the uncovered breast; the child lying aslant, wriggling his fingers and toes as he turns away from the proffered breast to present himself to St. Luke. Rogier himself developed his Madonnas in half-length as sections from his St. Luke panel,

and we observe meaningful modifications as he does so. When a donor took the place of St. Luke, to whom the child turns, the arrangement could be essentially maintained. This was the case when such a Madonna was to be used as one half of a diptych. But when it was a case of a single panel, to stand on its own, the composition had to be recast by projecting a closer relationship between mother and child, since otherwise the picture would have seemed orphaned, crying for something more.

Two excellent Madonna panels, which I regard as works by Rogier's own hand, manifest the shrewd parsimony of his approach. The one in the Renders collection at Bruges¹ (29, Plate 50), half of a diptych, follows the Madonna of St. Luke, except that the mother turns her eyes towards the donor and, like the child, fixes her gaze on something outside the panel, while the child, under constraint of the format, has lifted his legs slightly. On the other hand, the stylistically similar Madonna which reached the Ryerson collection in Chicago (27, Plate 49) from the Mathys collection², reverses everything except the Virgin's head, so that the mother proffers her breast with her right hand instead of her left. Her eyes are lowered here towards the child, within the picture, in other words. This painting was presumably conceived on its own.

Some peculiarities of the child's face in the St. Luke panel have been passed on to many Madonnas in half-length, and they appear in ill-understood or distorted form in imitations. The master himself undoubtedly sought to have the child turn towards St. Luke with innocent pleasure, but this intention is realized only imperfectly. The mouth is turned up in the shape of a crescent, the eyes similarly turned downwards. In the St. Luke painting itself—or at least the specimens that have survived—the child's face is rigid, distorted and schematic in effect, and this is true as well of several of the Madonnas in half-length, notably the one in Berlin (43, Plate 68), which otherwise departs rather widely from the St. Luke panel, especially in the type of the Virgin.

A child's head altogether different from the entire group under discussion appears in the Madonna in Donaueschingen (110a, Plate 122), a picture that in most other respects—mother's type, child's posture, overall composition—agrees closely with the Ryerson panel. Like everything in this painting, which is very much all of a piece, this child's head is thoroughly in Rogier's manner, although we cannot be absolutely sure he painted it with his own hand.

The Berlin Madonna which, although inverted, agrees in composition with the Ryerson panel shows a different head of the Virgin. If it was indeed painted by Rogier, it dates from another period. The lily appearing indistinctly on the right, against the dark ground represents a rather coy embellishment, not at all in the spirit of the master.

Apart from this family of paintings, closely related to one another through the St. Luke panel, three panels stand out from the great mass of imitations, for the most part mediocre, with a sound claim to be considered originals. One is in the Mancel Collection at Caen (31, Plate 52), a Madonna looking down upon the child and folding her hands in prayer. Another was recently put on the market from Hungary and is now (1924) in the possession of P. Cassirer in Amsterdam (35, Plate 57). The third is in the Huntington collection, New York, coming from the Willet and R. Kann collections (40, Plate 62).

1. *Burlington Magazine*,
Vol. 44, p. 184.

2. Cf. Pl. 13 in my catalogue
of the Bruges loan exhibition,
published by Bruckmann.

In the Caen panel, Rogier did not entirely get away from his favourite composition, from which he took over the uncovered breast draped with the kerchief, and both the posture and the head of the child. Each of the other two, however, stands quite alone as a composition. In the panel to turn up most recently, the Virgin presses the child to herself in a crowded composition that resembles a detail cut out of a painting. The line of his face overlaps the mother's, something quite unknown in any other painting by Rogier, and a gesture that creates an unexpected sense of intimacy. The child's body is shown in an unusually complex and twisted attitude, almost entirely from the back, while the head is turned sharply towards the front and the fingers of the extended left hand toy with his right foot. The infant Jesus in the Huntington panel moves with no less freedom. The Virgin supports him with both hands, but he seeks to escape and stand up, turning his back on her and pushing out of the narrow confines of the picture as he plays with the clasp on a prayer book. Clearly, this composition is part of a diptych, like those in Caen and in the Renders collection, for all three of which appropriate donor portraits have been located with a degree of probability. The Donaueschingen, Cassirer and Ryerson panels, on the other hand, look like self-contained compositions.

The Madonna in the Huntington collection (40, Plate 62) is the best of this group and has the best claim to be considered an original. She is the only one, by the way, to be painted, not against a neutral dark ground, but a dotted gold ground, as used in the altarpiece at Beaune.

The one in Amsterdam (35, Plate 57), more delicate and of later date, manifests such sensitivity, especially in the modelling of the heads and in the neck and arm of the child, that here too doubts are stilled. Following immediately, in order of quality, are the Renders Madonna, with its soulful head of the Virgin, and the Madonna at Caen.

As for the order of dating, I am inclined to regard the paintings connected with the St. Luke panel as older than the Huntington Madonna, with the natural exception of the Berlin Madonna. While this picture, in its main compositional elements and in the head of the child, is derived from the St. Luke panel, it departs too far in other respects to be anything but a late product. The Renders Madonna agrees with those at Donaueschingen and Chicago in the type of the Virgin's head. A drawing in the Louvre (Plate 129A) shows the same type and attitude³. If Jean de Gros (28, Plate 51), who has been shown to be the donor of the Renders Madonna, was born only in 1434, the painting cannot have been done before 1454⁴. The Huntington Madonna with her wide, square, lofty brow seems to have been painted somewhat later⁵. In the type of the Virgin's head, seen in full-face, the panel at Caen accords particularly well with the large *Annunciation* in the Metropolitan Museum (48, Plate 69), in which I think I see a late work by Rogier.

Insofar as the surviving stock of originals that has become known permits any judgment, Rogier painted Madonnas and diptychs with figures in half-length mainly after 1450, clinging with remarkable tenacity to older forms, especially the posture of the Virgin and the type of the child from the St. Luke panel.

Having had a taste of Rogier's nature and disposition, we would scarcely expect him to be a great portrait painter. Surrender to the physical and spiritual qualities of any one individual could not mean fulfilment to this master, could not mobilize

3. Pl. 32 in W. Burger, *Rogier van der Weyden*.

4. Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 44, p. 186, where Hulin has assembled the dates relating to Jean de Gros the younger.

5. Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 53, where Hulin dates the Croy portrait, which apparently belongs with this painting, from 1459.

his deepest powers. In the sight of God, all men are equal, and if they were not quite equal before Rogier, they nevertheless resembled one another like members of a single congregation, as children of God. They shared the same way of thinking and feeling. The master's active and alert mind transformed their spirit, and so in portraiture too he proved himself as a dramatizer and creator of types. Individual traits are acutely observed, but they are subsumed and subjected to the restrictive fashions of dress and to a formal style that is austere maintained. A rigid aloofness always glosses over the individual variations. His sitters never transcend the toils of devoutness. However different their lineaments, the singularity of their characters always moves within only narrow limits.

Rogier did a great deal of portrait painting. The task fell to him particularly, because upon Jan van Eyck's death he was the most renowned painter in the Netherlands. In his time, the court resided chiefly in Brussels, where it laid claim to his services, and the demand for portraits of the nobility steadily grew. He depicted Philip the Good as well as Charles the Bold. All the personages who have been identified as donors of altarpieces by his hand—people like Pieter Bladelin, Nicolas Rolin, Jean de Chevrot, the Bishop of Tournai—were eminent men who had grown great in the favour of the court. His art was well suited to express the stiff and cheerless splendour of secular as well as ecclesiastical ceremonial, and it was bound to appeal especially to the dignitaries of the church.

Yet we do not have many portraits by Rogier's own hand. Most of them have been lost. When one leafs through the Arras Codex⁶, which contains many copies from portraits of Rogier's time, it becomes clear just how many. His style often emerges there, more or less clearly. We can reconstruct a whole gallery of portraits from these copies. True, in only a few instances is his hand clearly identifiable, but it becomes evident that Rogier set the type of the representative portrait for a long time and over a wide area. Among the portraits Winkler has picked out as being in Rogier's own style, that of Pierre de Beffremont is most convincing⁷ (32, Plate 54).

Philip the Good lives on in our vision as Rogier saw him. It may well be true that we possess no portrait of this prince by Rogier's own hand, but the many spare and medallionlike representations, showing his lean, aging face with its dark eyes and thin, straight upper lip, all go back to him, directly or indirectly. The best specimen among the panel paintings is, to my mind, preserved in the Palace at Madrid⁸ (125a, Plate 127). The best portrait of Philip in the medium of book illumination is to be found on the dedication page of the Chronicle of Hainaut in the Royal Library at Brussels⁹ (Plate 35A). It was done about 1445 and shows Charles the Bold (who was born in 1433) as a boy among the most intimate circle of court society; and it conveys an incomparably lucid picture of the starched and prickly spirit that prevailed at this court. This was the way Rogier's patrons moved and carried themselves, and this was the way he saw them. When Charles the Bold came to the throne in 1467, Rogier was no longer alive; but when he was prince and heir apparent the Brussels town painter presumably portrayed him more than once¹⁰. By far the best portrait of Charles in the style of Rogier is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (42, Plate 65c) and it may rightly claim to be by Rogier's own hand. Judging from an inventory of her collection, the Stadholder Margaret owned a portrait of Charles—who was her grandfather—by Rogier. Since the prince was born in 1433, it is

6. Photographs by Giraudon.

7. Giraudon's No. 481.

8. There are many reproductions, e.g. in Rubbrecht, *L'Origine du Type Familial de la Maison de Habsbourg*, Brussels, 1910, fig. 10. This work also contains notes about other portraits of this prince.

9. Reproduced by Post, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, published by Gall, 1923, p. 171 ff. It is persuasively argued here that Rogier himself executed this unusual piece of illumination.

10. A detailed iconography will be found in Rubbrecht, *loc. cit.*, p. 27 ff.

possible to give an approximate date for the Berlin painting. It could scarcely have been done much earlier than 1453, but a more likely date is around 1460, which would make it one of Rogier's late works.

Proceeding from the donor portraits in the Beaune altarpiece and the Bladelin triptych, I have attributed (in 1899) a series of individual portraits to the master, purely on the grounds of stylistic analysis, in my work on the exhibition of the Berliner Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft¹¹. More works have been added since then¹². Apart from the portraits of the Burgundian princes, I now give Rogier nine portraits of men and four of women. They are the portrait in bust-length of a mature man, from the von Kaufmann collection, now in the possession of Dr. Wendland, Basle (32, Plate 54); the *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, with an arrow in his hand, in the Brussels museum (37, Plate 58); the *Portrait of Laurent Froimont*, in the same museum (30, Plate 53), obtained by exchange from Venice; the *Portrait of Jean de Gros*, from the R. Kann collection, now in the Ryerson collection, Chicago (28, Plate 51); the *Portrait of a Young Man*, overcleaned, which was in the Ch. L. Cardon collection (33, Plate 56), but the present whereabouts of which are unknown to me; a small *Portrait of a Man*, in the W. Samuel collection, London (45, Plate 65), erroneously placed in the Dreicer collection, New York, in my book, *From van Eyck to Bruegel*; the *Portrait of Philippe de Croy*, in the Antwerp museum (39, Plate 63); a portrait of a gentleman in a large round hat, with an arrow in his hand, in the same museum, but departing somewhat in style; and finally, the *Portrait of Lionello d'Este*, in the Friedsam collection, New York (23, Plate 44).

Of the female portraits, the finest is the one in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (4, Plate 11); but far more characteristic of the master are the aristocratic old lady in the M. de Rothschild collection, Paris (13, Plate 22), and the woman with the swelling, almost Negroid lower lip, in Dessau Castle (29A, Plate 55). Rather weaker, by comparison, especially in the drawing of the hands, is the *Portrait of a Woman* in the National Gallery, London (34, Plate 56). Indications that would enable us to arrange this series in order of time are not altogether lacking.

The Berlin *Portrait of a Woman* stands alone. My notice of this work, published when it reached us from private hands in Russia¹³, was almost incoherent with enthusiasm. Even then, however, I voiced certain doubts, not so much of the accuracy of the attribution as of the possibility of ever 'proving' it. It is true that this young woman touches upon our emotions in a way that seems outside Rogier's capacity. She sits before us, her personality open like a book. Her relaxed, buxom beauty, the swelling bloom of her healthy youth bespeak a human warmth, her clear, level gaze is turned towards the beholder with an air of kindness and understanding. Usually, the men and women depicted by Rogier, weary or serene, inward-looking or imperious, gaze into empty space with eyes that are dead, or glance sidelong towards the Madonna, with an expression characteristic of donors. Never, never do they seek to establish contact with the world. The lines in the Berlin panel are sweepingly drawn, within the usual crowded frame, yet the sweep is uncommonly pleasing. The forms are bright and spread out, as usual, but of unwonted softness. The lips are about to part. The hands, rather than being lean and dry, are full of the vigour of life. Three major colour contrasts are blended in gentle harmony—the cool white linen, the rosy flesh tints and the cold purplish grey of the woollen dress.

11. Grote, Berlin, p. 7.

12. Laban, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 19, 1907, p. 49 ff.

13. *Ämtliche Berichte aus der Königlichen Kunstsammlung*, 1908, col. 125 ff.

Utterly absent in this picture, full of vitality, is that oppressive sense which often marks Rogier's portraits, whether from devoutness, a desire to curry favour, or the habit of being on his dignity. If I cling to Rogier's authorship, nevertheless, it is because my conviction draws renewed strength every time I look at the *Descent from the Cross* in the Escorial, which seems to me to fit into the series of Rogier's altarpieces as reluctantly as does this *Portrait of a Woman* into the series of portraits. Both works, moreover, depart from the norm in the same direction. If the *Portrait of a Woman* in Berlin is indeed Rogier's work, it must be from his early period, a time when his heart was young and his eyes receptive. All the other individual portraits were done later—the one of Lionello d'Este about 1450, that of Charles the Bold about 1460, the small one in the Samuel collection also quite late, while the Croy portrait in Antwerp dates from about 1460 and all the others were probably done between 1450 and 1460.

Milords de Croy, Froimont and de Gros all have their hands folded in prayer, indicating an object of worship, on a second panel. They are halves of diptychs. Fortunately, these associated Madonna panels, appropriate in dimensions and composition, have been found¹⁴. The Croy portrait has been joined with the Huntington Madonna, the de Gros portrait with the Renders Madonna (which shows the coat of arms of the de Gros family), the Froimont portrait with the Madonna in Caen. These combinations help to check and fix the dates on both sides.

In the Arras Codex we find a portrait purporting to be of Rogier¹⁵ (Plate 144 B). It appears to go back to the same model as the engraving in the series of portraits of painters that was published in 1572 by H. Cock (Plate 144 A). It is Rogierian in general style, even though, in attitude, it does not look like a self-portrait. Another matter altogether is the self-portrait with a long, aquiline nose which H. Kauffmann has astutely identified in the Berne tapestry¹⁶ (Plate 144 C).

14. Hulin de Loo, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 53, Vol. 44, p. 186; these references include valuable data on the persons portrayed as well as indications for dating both the portraits and the Madonna panels.

15. Reproduced as the frontispiece to Lafond, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 1912.

16. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 39, p. 15 ff.

The Character and Style of Rogier van der Weyden

28

Having described the works that may be identified, from their towering qualities, as works by Rogier's hand, I shall now endeavour to do the same for his style, his formal idiom, his spirit. In so doing, I shall keep an eye on the road he travelled, insofar as it becomes visible by evidence elicited in one way or another. I am well aware, by the way, that personal prejudice plays a liberal part in the very unearthing of such evidence.

The individual element is hard to delimit in this instance, for we know virtually nothing about the origins of Rogier's style, which had achieved its fullest character by 1450. I shall not pass over the difficulties relating to sources, but such effort, on account of its uncertain results, is ill-suited to serve as a basis for my account. Then too, Rogier's style transcended his person, attained general validity and, indeed, became the style of his age. Rogier's influence ranged far and wide from Brussels, where he held the post of town painter, as well as from his birthplace, Tournai, with which he kept in touch, and also from Bruges and Louvain. It reached all the way to Germany, Italy and Spain, while in the studios of the Netherlands it governed pictorial invention and working methods throughout the second half of the century. Manifestly, the master ran a large workshop, where copies were made to his design. Students graduated from this shop and repeated Rogier's compositional ideas, with more understanding or less. The personal idiom he originated is often underrated, because it is encountered on every hand, in distorted and coarsened form, indeed, often almost in caricature. This wide response shows, of course, that the Rogierian idiom managed to capture the spirit of the age, that it was accessible and amenable to imitation—in a word, that it was understood. Rogier was an original, creative genius who worked in unison with his environment. There is no other way to explain the depth, breadth and duration of his influence. The soil may have been prepared and circumstances favourable, but it took absolute conviction, perfect self-assurance and the most intense vision to bring a style to such dominance, not to say tyranny.

In discussions of the 15th and 16th centuries, Rogier is usually mentioned in the same breath with the brothers van Eyck, and a certain naïve pragmatism that seems hard to uproot insists on regarding him as a disciple, follower and heir of Jan van Eyck. In terms of time, this does encompass the relationship, but it does very little more than that. Rogier knew works by Jan van Eyck, such as the *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin*. Technically too he is quite likely to have profited from the achievements of his predecessor. In Genoa, Fazio¹ saw a genre painting by Rogier—*tabula praeinsignis Jenuae, in qua mulier in balneo sudans, juxtaque eam catulus, ex adverso duo adolescentes illam clanculum per rimam prospectantes ipso risu notabiles*. Surely this was a theme remote from the master, executed in imitation of Jan van Eyck, if the description permits any judgment. For in both spirit and form Rogier is opposed to Jan van Eyck, is rooted in altogether different soil. We sense instinctively that the fact that Rogier's cheerless and abstract art prevailed over the sumptuous tempta-

1. *De Viris Illustribus Liber*
Florence, 1745, p. 48.

tions of Jan van Eyck represents a counter-current, a turn from the secular, the sensuous, the artistic towards the spiritual, the clerical, the ascetic, a relapse into ecclesiastical art. Jan van Eyck had pushed ahead too far. His sense of realism, his surrender to the visible threatened to profane the image of the church, and the ensuing generation fought against such a thing. The Middle Ages were not yet dead and put forward one last effort to turn the new forms to their own purposes. True, in his own sharp and precise idiom, Rogier himself was a pioneer and innovator. His contemporaries may have looked upon him as such. Indeed, Jan van Eyck preserved more of the sweetness and flowing grace of the Gothic mood than did Rogier. Nevertheless, the art of Rogier represents a belated stirring of the mediaeval spirit. Not only was this master devout, he was orthodox in the sense of traditional doctrine. He feared rather than trusted in God; indeed, the cast of his mind was theological. Whatever the challenge before him, he always kept his eye on the whole of Christian doctrine. A mood as of the Last Judgment pervades his compositions, portraits, genre elements, Madonnas and all his representations from the Gospels.

Once one has accepted that a truly devout person is incapable of thinking of anything except first things and last, one might conclude that such a one perceives the Godhead in everything. True, he can see God only in the lowly form of man. But faith warns him against the blandishments and adventures of observation, against the chance and accident of the individual, turning him back in the direction of law and order. Struggling against the temptation, adulteration and confusion inherent in contemptible and unredeemed reality, he finds refuge in tradition. The faith of the fathers must be safeguarded and renewed. Devout art is conservative, retrospective and often old-fashioned. In Rogier's case, tradition prevails especially in the relief sculpture that adorns the portals, altars and walls of his cathedrals. Rogier's imagination fed upon the forms of mediaeval sculpture, whose laws of style became the order by which his art lived. Faced with the challenge to represent, as a painter and a child of his time, the Christian mythology in ritual terms, he took pains to gain command of all the means for projecting illusion which the technical painting skill of his generation offered. Jan van Eyck proceeded from the visible, individual case, Rogier from the idea. Jan van Eyck grasped the natural context, Rogier the spiritual context of doctrine and hierarchy. Hence Jan van Eyck, as a painter, is rich and nimble, while Rogier is poor in forms, unvarying, a draughtsman or sculptor. To Jan van Eyck's mind, Jesus died once, at a certain time and place, and the painter struggled manfully to represent the circumstances of that time and place. For Rogier, Jesus died always and everywhere. He sought to serve the church, to preach a sermon here and now, and in his mind he did not distinguish between the body that was nailed to the cross long ago and far away and the crucifix hanging on the church wall. He may have used all the skills of illusion, because of his own deep involvement, but under his brush reality becomes enduring symbolism. Rogier painted parables rather than epics. His groups are shut away, brought into sharp focus.

Correlative to his lack of spatial sense as a painter, to his limited field of observation, to his fervour as a teacher who sought to show the full substance of faith on every occasion, is Rogier's penchant for sculptural effect.

His affinity with sculpture has often been emphasized². His father is said to have

2. L. Maeterlinck, *Rogier et les 'Ymaigiers' de Tournai*, *Mémoires Publiés par l'Académie de Belgique*, Vol. 60, 1901; Gr. Ring, *Clemen, Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vol. 1, p. 269 ff.

been a sculptor, and Robert Campin, to whom he was apprenticed, is mentioned as both a painter and a sculptor³.

Tournai was a centre of sculpture in stone. A number of votive reliefs have been preserved in that town and in the vicinity⁴. Maeterlinck credits the master with the statues of an *Annunciation* in the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Tournai, while Gr. Ring puts forward powerful arguments on behalf of the sculptural stonework of the *Entombment* of Soignies⁵. Rogier may well have been the man to introduce painted portal sculpture as an element in the painting of altarpieces, in the form it was used in the Granada and St. John altarpieces, to enrich and embroider the narrative. Imitation of statuary, especially on the outside of altarpiece shutters, is a characteristic feature found throughout the Netherlands, flowing from the general interrelation of painting and sculpture. In Netherlandish altarpieces, both arts were customarily combined, so that they affected each other's style, polychromed illusionist sculpture becoming more and more 'pictorial', even as painting grew more 'sculptural.' In the face of this general situation, Jan van Eyck's sense of space, light and air becomes all the more extraordinary, and the emancipation of the art of painting much more remarkable than the fact that Rogier retained his ties with sculpture. All the same, no other Netherlandish painter moves with such assurance in those regions where relief sculpture and painting impinge on each other. This may have something to do with his origins or training, yet it surely accords with his creative purpose to exemplify the sacred and divine, which he could realize only in the human form lifted from the relativity of place and light and living on in his mind as separate figures or groups.

Rogier's figures are arranged in levels parallel to the picture surface. Their actions develop neither from nor into depth. No tricks of lighting invest the scene with mood or glamour. Inexorably clear and close, his figures stand before us in uniform sharpness, as in a vacuum. They are tangible and even three-dimensional. In general, he sacrifices the traditional gold ground to the more sophisticated taste of his day, yet gold creeps back in many a guise—the old-fashioned haloes of rays, for example.

Rogier's people are of medium stature, bony, lean and well-proportioned, except that heads and hands, those pillars of expression, often seem on the large side. His knowledgeable draughtsmanship insured that limbs were depicted realistically. Rogier's calculating and measuring mind was familiar with anatomy, as he was with perspective. He also adhered to the architect's logic and scruple, building firm walls with little adornment but a sure sense of perspective, to offer background and support for his groups. Yet, in the absence of the painter's integrating vision, of observation of the interplay of light, of a sense of continual flow and colourful context, Rogier's paintings as a whole do not keep the promise of realism they seem to hold out. In the altarpiece of the Sacraments, for example, the church interior is shown in strict and consistent perspective, but the main group of figures stands outside and in front of this space.

The master has a good knowledge of the third dimension, but he does not feel it in his bones, he does not revel in its possibilities. His people are not at all like trees or flowers, rooted in the soil and growing up freely into space, they resemble rather dried plants, pasted into a herbarium. Their physical vigour is eroded by grief, asceticism and spiritual labours. They need something against which to lean their

3. L. Maeterlinck, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

4. Cf. the reproductions in the essay by Gr. Ring.

5. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 33, p. 36 ff.

backs. As Christ is nailed to the cross, so they are fixed in a place, usually invisible, sometimes emerging as a masonry surface, a curtain, a back wall. The figures are pilasters rather than pillars. Their bodies do not impede the light. They do not preempt space, let alone fill it. They are not even part of it, nor do they create it. All this is most noticeable at the critical points where they make contact—with the ground or a chair, with any part of a building or of the natural environment. They never tread firmly, never press their soles against a footing in depth. Their hands reach, grope, gesticulate, pray—but they never grip anything, they never do a job of work.

Landscape is off by itself, a distant background, the rear panel of a stage setting. Beneath a blue sky, sometimes cloudy, the rolling countryside is sketched in sweeping lines, accurately observed, but sparingly set with buildings and rows of trees. There is a sameness about the way it is arranged, and the elements too remain constant. Rogier's imagination never fed on loving contemplation of this earthly vale of tears. One does well to look at a master's landscapes with care, for they are often the touchstone through which his weaknesses become evident. This is certainly true of Rogier. His paths and range lines run downwards from the sides and intersect in the midline.

Rogier's colours are vitreously bright and hard—flat, open, naked, positive, quite independent of the relativity of the given light. His radiant blue makes an inspissated effect with its uneven surfaces. His reds are thinner and drier—a cool carmine, a bit whitish in the light, and, more rarely, a rather dead vermilion. His sharp yellow seems to iridesce in the shadows. His garments stand side by side, abruptly spread out, neatly delimited, often graceful and carefully hemmed in gold. The flesh of Rogier's people is either dry, fissured and leatherlike in effect, or it gleams like ivory or enamel. Never, never does it really look like flesh.

Van Mander emphasizes Rogier's power of representing expression as his special virtue, and he hits a crucial point. Rogier does indeed tower above all the painters of the 15th century in the finality with which he renders visible the state of mind of his subjects, every nuance of their feelings. Almost obsessively, albeit in the most sensitive gradation, he pictures a single sphere, the inner life of the faithful—devotion, rapture, surrender, bitter grief, humility, composed sorrow, mourning beyond tears, physical distress, the impotence of profound suffering, judicial majesty, anxious expectancy, ecclesiastical dignity, tense and aspiring willpower and finally, at the utmost extreme, the terror that speaks from the contorted features of the damned.

Rogier's creatures are sensitive to pain, they suffer, but they suffer with dignity. Sorrow has etched their features, bent their stature, stiffened or convulsed their limbs. Pain, resisted with body and soul, is the dramatic driving-force behind these upward striving humans.

His pictures are mute and he justifies this silence with subtle instinct. Rogier's creatures are speechless, intimidated, bemused, awe-struck, lost in thought, frozen rigid. They hesitate to disturb the sacred quiet, they are done with speech and plaint. Silence is their ultimate wisdom, sorrow and faith. Rogier's inventiveness is almost inexhaustible when he opposes two figures, as in a visit or an encounter. Salute, gesture and counter-gesture, amity, impact—all are expressed in posture, attitude,

the movement of a hand. Rogier's people understand and communicate with one another without any need for words, for they are of one mind and one faith.

The beauty of his women is spiritual in nature, their dignity is daunting. All of them, even Salome, share an air of nobility that transfigures their entire being.

His approach is not exactly 'monumental.' True, that term, originating in the South, scarcely fits a Northern Gothic. So long as Rogier's people stick to the firm lines of the architecture like pillars or statues they are impressive, massive, taut. No sooner do they stir than they jerk about, their bones rattling.

Nothing is merely hinted at. There is no soft yielding, no vacillation. Everything is articulated, poured into formal speech richer in consonants than in vowels. Profiles, the changing direction of an outline—these make the basic statement. There is no nonsense about the way Rogier's lines, stiff and straight, mark the limits. They may tell of the passage of time, in the runic writing of wrinkles, or project and mould form with the utmost subtlety. Always they are eloquent—sharply held together while expansively contained, gently sinuous, and quiet yet firm, delicate yet austere serviceable.

Heedless of the infinite wealth of the visible, Rogier goes his way. Insensitive and obdurate to the vastness of what can be seen, he builds his own world without guile. He builds steeply upwards, in the Gothic spirit, orienting every element towards the goal of salvation. And since the way of life from which sprang his style was familiar to Christians everywhere, the style was understood as far as the church reached. The people had faith in his faith—they were willing to believe that he had come to know the saints face to face. He did indeed see them with his inner eye, and as a creator of ideal types he towers above all the painters of the 15th century. His is a style that came about bit by bit, and it should be possible to follow its growth, whether in his own work or that of his predecessors. Rogier's vision fed on experience. He must have begun with observation—unless his training merely meant that he took over ready-made forms. In his youth, for example, the master must have been nimble and receptive, by comparison, tempted and seduced by nature, groping for an idiom. Nature, of course, is inexhaustibly rich as a source of visible form; while the spirit, alas, is equally poor. Hence Rogier's style was bound to end up mannered.

I cannot do much better than these general surmises. One falls short of tracing the growth of Rogier's art from his surviving works. We enter realms of darkness here. What had Robert Campin, documented as Rogier's teacher, actually to offer? What came to Rogier through the traditions of art at Tournai? Unless we can answer these questions, we cannot follow the origins of Rogier's style. But in the light of the overpowering unity of that style, of this master's inflexible assurance, of the inexorable link between intent and idiom, means and end, we are inclined to ascribe much to his individual talent, little to the vagaries of tradition.

The contrast between Jan van Eyck and Rogier may be viewed in more than one way. Historians are not content simply to oppose two men, two personalities—the original creator and the painter who receives. They will not resist the temptation to go further and see the two masters as the representatives of two ages, two races. Jan van Eyck was once regarded the exponent of Flanders, Rogier of Brabant. This was over naïve. True, mindful of where they were born, one will want to untangle the

French and South Flemish strain from that of Germany and the Netherlands. Rogier proceeded from sculpture, in contrast to book illumination, with which Jan van Eyck began. Mediaeval ecclesiastical austerity was opposed to adventurousness, secularism, joy in nature, all of which marked the new age. But such generalizations tend to oversimplify dangerously a complex background on which only very little light has been thrown. Whatever the heritage of Jan van Eyck, the achievement of Rogier is quite distinct. What Jan van Eyck gave to Netherlandish painting was warmth, aroma, a sense of closeness to nature. Rogier's contribution consists of ideas, types, themes. Joy and the sound of music on the one hand, dramatic tension and moral grandeur on the other.

The Master of Flémalle, Robert Campin and Jacques Daret

From documents in Tournai, we know Rogier's teacher and one of his fellow students. The teacher was named Robert Campin, the fellow student Jacques Daret. On the one hand we have these names and certain dates; on the other hand the paintings, as classified by stylistic analysis. There has been no dearth of efforts to fling bridges from one of these shores to the other. From the large number of paintings that appear Rogierian, in the broader sense, one group has been subsumed under the stop-gap name of the 'Master of Flémalle,' or the 'Master of the Merode Altarpiece'.¹ What happened was that some thought they could see the hand of another master in some of the works, which had certain features alien to Rogier and needed to be distinguished from his. Originally this second painter was seen as a follower of Rogier. For example, Passavant has attributed to 'Rogier van der Weyden the Younger' the three panels in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, allegedly from the abbey of Flémalle, near Liège. Even von Tschudi put his creation later and ranked him lower than the Brussels town painter. Later on, the Master of Flémalle moved up beside Rogier—until at last the archaic character of his style was recognized and he was regarded as Rogier's predecessor and teacher.

Three separate attempts have been made to rescue this painter from anonymity. Firmenich-Richartz, seemingly taking a step backwards, declared the group of works given to the Master of Flémalle to be youthful works of Rogier.² His line of reasoning is noteworthy, but few agreed with him. In 1902, Hulin de Loo, on the occasion of the Bruges loan exhibition, most astutely identified the Master of Flémalle as Jacques Daret,³ Rogier's fellow student who was about the same age. Later on, no less astutely, Hulin identified him as Robert Campin, Rogier's teacher.⁴

Hulin had good reason for changing his mind. In 1909, he discovered documentary evidence that certain surviving paintings were by Daret's hand. Quite evidently, the altarpiece in point is not by the same hand as the Flémalle panels and the Merode altarpiece. Since both pupils of Campin, Rogier and Daret, had now emerged as tangible personalities and the style of both showed resemblances with the Master of Flémalle, Hulin found persuasive reasons for now identifying the Master of Flémalle as Robert Campin. And since it is in the nature of pseudo scholarship to present the latest surmise to unsophisticated readers as established fact, Robert Campin is now spoken of with the same assurance as Rembrandt or Rubens. Now the name itself may not matter so much, but this identification would fix the œuvre of the Master of Flémalle in time and place and in its relationship to Rogier. There lies the significance of Hulin's conjecture, and precisely for that reason we should accept his hypothesis as only tentative.

As for Jacques Daret, we are fortunate that documentation and work now coincide at least in one instance.

Jan du Clercq, abbot of St. Vaast in Arras, had a large altar built in the chapel of the Virgin in the choir of his church. Old descriptions provide us with solid information on this work.⁵ Documents from the abbey, now kept in the Arras archives,

1. H. von Tschudi, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 19, 1898, p. 14 ff., p. 98 ff.

2. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 10, 1899, pp. 1 ff., 129 ff.

3. *De l'Identité de Certains Maîtres Anonymes*, introduction to the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition, A. Siffer, Ghent, 1902, p. 25 ff.

4. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 15, p. 202 ff.; Vol. 19, p. 218 ff.

5. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 15, loc. cit.

list payments to Jacques Daret for polychroming the statuary and for painting the shutters on both sides. In the *Journal de la Paix d'Arras* (Paris, 1651) Jean Collard describes the altar and mentions the paintings on the outsides of the shutters—an *Annunciation*, and below, side by side, four panels (78-81, Plates 104, 105), a *Visitation*, a *Nativity*, an *Adoration* and a *Circumcision*. The Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin owns two panels of equal size, with a *Visitation* and an *Adoration*. In the former, an abbot is shown as the donor, and his coat of arms is that of Jan du Clercq. A conforming *Presentation* (rather than a *Circumcision*, with which it might have been easily confused) was found in the Hainauer collection, whence it reached the Petit Palais in Paris with the Tuck collection. Hulin located the final panel, the *Nativity*, with a London art dealer, who sold it to Pierpont Morgan⁶. The four paintings agree completely in style.

Like Rogier, Jacques Daret⁷ who, thanks to Hulin's discovery, has become more than a name to us, was a native of Tournai. He was also of about the same age. His father was a wood-carver. As early as April 1418, when he was still of a tender age, he is mentioned as being a member of Campin's household, in strange and noteworthy contrast to the official entry of 1427. Daret seems to have been Campin's youthful apprentice for nine long years, without having been recorded as such in the guild register. Strange—and even stranger: Rogier is mentioned as *maître* as early as 1426; yet a year later he is again Campin's 'pupil' (see p. 11, above). Perhaps both of these oddities are explained in one and the same way. Perhaps Rogier too worked with Campin before the beginning of his 'official' apprenticeship. In the case of Daret, are we really entitled to speak of an apprenticeship in the proper sense? Can any painter 'study' for 14 years? Either Daret was adroit and teachable or he was not. In the latter case, Campin would have scarcely tolerated him in his studio for so long a time; in the former, he must have become an experienced collaborator and performed useful service, at least from 1427 to 1432. Possibly Campin was something akin to an entrepreneur who retained capable hands for team work over a long period. Perhaps, in this case, apprenticeship was merely the outward form for an association on terms of equality. Such possibilities afford us a certain scope, when it comes to establishing Rogier's relationship to Campin. In any event, on 18th October 1432 Jacques Daret formally achieved master's status in Tournai and, oddly enough, at once became the guild's provost. In 1434, he worked for the abbot of St. Vaast in Arras; in 1436, he was again in his home town; but in 1441 he was once more in Arras, where Jan du Clercq was apparently his devoted patron. He prepared cartoons for a tapestry of the *Resurrection*⁸. In 1452, he painted another altarpiece for St. Vaast's. In 1468, on the occasion of Charles the Bold's marriage celebrations, the master was in Bruges. He seems to have been in charge of the decorative work, receiving the same pay as Franc Stoc of Brussels, while Daniel de Rycque of Ghent, Philippot Truffin, Liévin van Laethem and even Hugo van der Goes received lesser sums. On 8th May 1436, a certain Eluthère du Pret entered his service *pour apprendre l'enluminure*. Hence Daret also seems to have worked as an illuminator of books. On 17th February 1473, he was employed at a court festival at Lille, together with other painters, including 'Simonet Marmion' of Amiens.

The four paintings Daret did at the outset of his mastership provide an exemplary view of the art, as it must have been practiced in Tournai and in Campin's workshop

6. Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 19, p. 218.

7. Maurice Houtart, *Jacques Daret*, Casterman, Tournai, 1908.

8. H. Goebel, *Wandteppiche*, 1923, Vol. 1, p. 233.

at the time, and of the kind of painting on which Rogier fed. If the wealth of documentation concerning Daret has led us to expect much of him, we are likely to be disappointed. Yet even though his work is scarcely impressive by its spiritual stature, it is probably all the more characteristic of run-of-the-mill painting of its time and place.

Daret's horizon lies at an unusually high level—only a narrow strip of sky is visible. This may have something to do with a tradition for filling out the space evenly, which may have prevailed in Tournai and Arras, centres of tapestry-weaving. The general character of the landscape, with winding paths and intersecting hills, bespeaks a sense of space on the same level as Rogier's; but Daret covers the lawn in the foreground with a carpet of plants and flowers, in a decorative style possibly derived from the traditions of the tapestry cartoonists⁹. He lacks altogether Rogier's austere frugality. His basically old-fashioned treatment displays a superficial polish and realism—although playful and inconsistent—especially in the *Nativity*, where the woodwork of the shelter and the icicles drooping from the roof seem to boastfully flourish a studious observation of still life elements. In the *Presentation*, the construction of the chapel is uncertain. In his brushwork, Daret is a master of the new generation. But the structure to which it is applied is slender. Formal idiom, bodily configuration, types, drapery—all are slack, empty, imprecise. Yet there is a stimulating surface effect—heavy, almost barbaric adornments, with pearls, jewels and inscribed gold hems; sparkling highlights, boldly applied; strong contrasts of light and dark; minor objects in realistic texture; and flowerlike coloration. The compositions themselves have a festive, although shallow air. In stature, Daret's people are on the stocky side, their bodies ill-defined beneath heavy, drooping fabrics. The vacuous, flabby and rather bloated faces show little differentiation in expression, with their long noses and squinting eyes. The hands are boneless, drawn with little knowledge of form.

From the example of the St. Vaast altarpiece, we get a fair idea of the means with which Daret met the decorative challenge of court festivals. Surviving tapestries support this picture—for example, the Alexander tapestry in the Palazzo Doria in Rome¹⁰. To the extent that the records tell us, Daret studied only with Robert Campin. On the theory that his own work was the result of many years of instruction, we should be able to draw conclusions from it about the skill and character of his teacher. This is the way in which Hulin went about it, and he reached the conclusion that Robert Campin—who died in Tournai on 26th April 1444—was none other than the so-called Master of Flémalle.

Stylistic analysis concerned with this master has been based chiefly on the panels in Frankfurt (60, Plates 88, 89), for the altarpiece in the possession of the Comtesse de Merode in Brussels, although much more suitable as a key work, is not readily accessible. It has, in fact, been publicly shown but twice—at the Toison d'Or exhibition in Bruges in 1907¹¹, and at the exhibition of Belgian art in Paris in 1923.

The centre panel of the Merode triptych (54, Plates 77-79) shows an *Annunciation*, while the right shutter depicts Joseph at work as a carpenter and the left one the donor couple kneeling at the door of the Virgin's chamber. Two coats of arms in the window of the centre panel hold out hope of shedding light on the identity of the

9. On the subject of tapestry-weaving in Tournai, cf. Eugène Soil, *Les Tapisseries de Tournai*, 1892; and especially Betty Kurth, *Die Blütezeit der Bildweberei zu Tournai, Jahrbuch des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. 24, 1917, No. 3. There is a hint here of the relationship between Daret's panel paintings and tapestry-weaving (p. 104).

10. Reproduced in B. Kurth, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 8.

11. The best reproductions are in the catalogue of this exhibition (Van Oest, Brussels), p. 83, Pls. 39, 40.

12. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, loc. cit.

13. *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*, Vol. 15, p. 218.

youthful donors and thus of dating the work. Tschudi, in his well-known essay¹², reads the escutcheons as belonging to the Ingelbrechts and Calcum (Lohausen) families. Hulin de Loo has also tried hard to wring meaning from these heraldic devices¹³. He confirms that the husband was a member of the Ingelbrechts family, which is on record especially in Mechlin; but as to the donatrix, he was unable to reach a firm conclusion. Thus the arms, alas, give no help to the dating of the work by fashion in dress and stylistic analysis.

It is perfectly preserved, and its original and genrelike elements are striking. This painter scores a major advance with his sense of space, light and realism, his endeavour to take us right into the rooms and the environment, his documentation of the Virgin's way of life. He is not quite able to meet the standards of illusionism to which he evidently aspires, perhaps from lack of knowledge or experience. His observation is bold and direct, but at the same time superficial, although in a different sense from Daret. The master eagerly pursues the appearances of things, tracing the heavy shadows, the play of light on fabric, metal, linen, wood, wool. He outdoes himself in representing everything with the utmost realism. The parchment pages of the open prayer book are reproduced with fidelity, as are Joseph's tools. He revels in depicting still life elements and becomes almost obtrusive in his naturalism. The miracle is all the more mysterious, because it bursts into the workaday world. The painter tells us just where Joseph was at the time of the Annunciation. The house has several rooms. The Virgin sits in the parlour, reading in her prayer book, while Joseph, undisturbed by the angel's visit, works in his cramped shop that adjoins. We, however, are witnesses to what he fails to see and hear, even though he sits wall-to-wall with the Virgin; and the donors, kneeling sedately at the steps by the half-open door, catch a whiff of the miracle. The recital is matter-of-fact and plausible, told with narrative rather than dramatic tension, indeed, with a sense of humour. On Joseph's work-table stands a mousetrap. True, the book illuminators had already renewed, embellished and humanized the gospel stories with pictorial notions; but to put the paraphernalia so boldly and even saucily to the fore of an altarpiece took a great measure of worldliness and pleasure in actuality, coupled with an eagerness to try out new possibilities—in other words, precisely the kind of triumphant step forward taken in panel painting in the decade of the Ghent altarpiece.

When I use the word superficial to describe this well-observed reality—the carefully objectified rooms, the play of light, the furnishings and other objects, the segment of sun-drenched marketplace seen through the window—I mean to say that the painter encompasses skin rather than flesh and bone, the individual pieces rather than the whole, dead things rather than people. His construction is weak—the perspective lines of rooms and furniture as well as the human bodies—but the vigorous and seemingly consistent lighting and the deep, chiaroscurolike palette—make the viewer overlook these faults. Oddly enough, the Virgin is seated on the ground rather than on the bench. The curiously uptilted table-top in the middle seems to pre-empt almost a third of the chamber, encumbering both the Virgin and the angel. Almost menacingly crowded and disorderly, the picture as a whole, with its realistic contents highlighted, is mildly irritating—the two main figures are cramped and do not come into their own.

The drapery is deeply moulded with light and shadow and as richly realistic as it

is imaginative. Its rhythms betray a temperament given to impatience and vehemence. Clashing rectilinear and intransigently star-shaped patterns alternate with others that flow and ripple.

The Virgin's head, seen full-face, is long, with a narrow brow, closely spaced eyes, wide cheeks, a long nose and a short thick neck. Rather masklike in expression, it is wholesome and not precisely spiritualized. The hands, with pointed fingertips pressed together, seem slightly stunted.

A master of genre bestirs himself in this altarpiece—of still life, landscape and portrait as well.

The statement made in this painting allows its author to emerge clearly as a personality quite distinct from Rogier. To confuse the two seems only a remote possibility. Yet this dividing line, apparently so certain here, becomes blurred as soon as we proceed from the Merode altarpiece and add other paintings to the œuvre of the so-called Master of Flémalle. One such is dated in an inscription—the wings of the Werl altarpiece in the Prado at Madrid (67, Plates 96, 97), consisting of a *St. John the Baptist*, with the donor, and a *St. Barbara*. The inscription, along the lower margin of the panel with the donor, reads: *Anno milleno centum quater decem ter et octo hic fecit effigiem... depingi minister henricus Werlis magister coloniensis*. [The word *depingi* is indistinct.] Thus the date is established as 1438, as is the identity of the donor, a monk born in Werl in Westphalia, who matriculated at the university in Cologne in 1430, enjoyed high repute as a teacher and writer and died in Osnabrück in 1461. Magister Henricus took part in the Council of Basle.

The panels are immaculately preserved, but for the head of the Baptist, and the thing about them that reminds so sharply of the Merode altarpiece is the lusty energy with which the interiors are visualized. Their unity and homeliness is what determines the overall impression. The lighting, carried out consistently in the direct shadows, invests these pictures with a power of illusion that none in those days attained, except Jan van Eyck.

The inventory of furniture and other objects is not the same as in the Merode altarpiece, although they are similar in form and arrangement and appear to have been selected by one of similar tastes. The fireplace along the side wall, the long bench before it, the window in the back wall, the towel hanging over a rod, the hinged candle-bracket over the flue—all are the same, yet deliberately different, as though the painter, in his intimate knowledge and deep involvement, were boasting of the ease with which he could vary them. Complex construction is sought after, with visible pleasure in pictorial animation. The chamber in which the donor is kneeling is subdivided by a partition of half-height. Construction and texture of the framework, the beamed ceiling, the window shutters are shown in fine realistic detail; and the extreme fidelity with which the glass bottle on the mantelpiece is elaborated, and the shining pitcher on the sideboard, and the convex mirror in the panel with the donor, borders on virtuosity—a virtuosity, it is true, of naïve innocence. The interior lighting lacks Jan van Eyck's soft, dusky and poetic shimmer and enshrouding chiaroscuro, being marked instead by sharper contrast of light and dark, giving a keen and strident effect.

Ingenuousness of observation is displayed particularly clearly in the sculptured statue of the Virgin. It seems almost like a textbook illustration, taken over without

any adaptation to the master's idiom, preserving the style of the 14th century in pure form.

As in the Merode altarpiece, the donor kneels before some steps by an open door, peering into the sanctuary of the centre panel. The painter repeats a compositional element that meaningfully connects the shutter to that panel.

Compared with the Merode altarpiece, the shutters of the Werl altarpiece are constructed with forethought. The figures have room in their chambers. St. Barbara is seated securely on the chimney bench and does not crouch before it in the curious attitude of the Merode Madonna. The perspective is approximately correct, enhancing the illusion of space. Clearly, there has been progress in skill and experience, warranting the conclusion that the Merode altarpiece was painted before the Werl shutters, that is, before 1438.

Surprisingly enough, in the shutters of the Werl altarpiece the master shows a hint of Rogier. The hand of the Baptist, moving in a complex gesture of obscure significance, clearly stems from some other context. It occurs in precisely this way in Rogier's Granada altarpiece, in the panel now in New York (1, Plate 2). In this *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, the Saviour's right hand, which the Master of Flémalle borrowed at random for his Baptist, assumes a posture inherent in the situation, a sublime motive of spiritual refinement, wholly in Rogier's style. The Master of Flémalle is most unlikely to have copied direct from the Granada altarpiece. Perhaps he saw one of Rogier's drawings, some study from life, and worked from it. What we do get from this coincidence is a measure of support for the contention that the two masters worked in the same shop, a piece of evidence that Robert Campin and the Master of Flémalle were one and the same person. Yet there is also a cautionary note that Rogier's relationship to the Master of Flémalle was not solely that of a pupil, which would, conversely, argue against this identification. If we do accept as a fact that the two worked together, it may have been in the sense of mutual stimulation, Campin's forte being his light-drenched interiors, Rogier's the more thoughtful approach to composition and a certain moral grandeur. This theory would accord well with the Master of Flémalle's *St. Barbara*, which is reminiscent of Rogier in the shape of the figure's head as well as in overall spirit. The National Gallery in London owns a fragment from a large altar panel, a seated figure of Mary Magdalene (12, Plates 20, 21), with the background overpainted 191, and this work by Rogier in type and posture comes close to the *St. Barbara* of the Master of Flémalle.

Our attention must be particularly concentrated upon the period from 1427 to 1432, during which Rogier worked with Campin. It was during that period—more specifically, before 1430¹⁴—that the Master of Flémalle executed a triptych distinguished both by its size and its dramatic impact. We have only a copy in reduced size—with the arms of the town of Bruges—in the museum at Liverpool (59a, Plate 86); and a fragment of the original, showing the Repentant Thief with two upward-glancing men, in the Städelches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt (59, Plate 87). In the head of this Dying Thief, Rogier's powers of expression seem to be blended with the Master of Flémalle's powers of observation.

A link between the work of the two masters is provided in a drawing by the Master of the Banderoles, in itself of small significance, which survives in an en-

14. Hulin is quite definite on the date (*Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 19, p. 225): 'We have the proof that it was executed and was already celebrated, before 1430.'

graving (3k, Plate 10). In it, curiously, the copyist has added the two Thieves to Rogier's *Descent from the Cross* (the panel in the Escorial); and one of the two—the evil one—coincides, in reverse, with the figure we know from the copy in Liverpool. The Master of the Banderolles must have been working from a Netherlandish drawing which was derived, directly or indirectly, from both of these great *Descents*, the one by Rogier and the one by the Master of Flémalle.

Motives we encounter in the work of the Master of Flémalle are seen to pass through and be perpetuated in Rogier's studio. Some compositional elements which the Master of Flémalle used and to which he gave valid form seem, in their clear-cut spirituality and dramatic impact, to go back to Rogier's invention.

The three panel paintings in the Städelches Kunstinstitut (60, Plates 88, 89), allegedly from the Abbey of Flémalle, are a *Madonna Standing*, in full-length, a *St. Veronica*, and a *Holy Trinity*, in grisaille. The last is painted on the back of the *St. Veronica*, constituting one wing of the altarpiece, while the *Madonna*—the back of which is overpainted with a *Mater Dolorosa*—makes up the other. In monumental gravity, the altarpiece of which these are the remnants stands foremost among the creations of the Master of Flémalle. In these shutters, at least, the effect does not turn upon the illusion of light and space, on the narrative, on a homely genre-like appeal, but rather on the dignity and expression of the sacred personages. The master seems to be rivalling Rogier in the very sphere where Rogier was inherently his superior. If we assume that this altarpiece was painted in Campin's workshop between 1427 and 1432, we must take into account the possibility that Rogier had a hand in it. We do indeed here come to the critical border-line between the two masters, and we begin to understand why a connoisseur of Ludwig Scheibler's standing was never willing to relinquish his attribution of these panels to Rogier himself, and also why Firmenich-Richartz chose this particular work for his effort to weld together the work of the two masters¹⁵.

In terms of their execution, the Frankfurt panels stand on this side of the border-line, i.e. they are by the same hand that painted the Merode altarpiece and the Madonna from the Somzée collection, which came to the National Gallery in London with the Salting bequest (58, Plate 85). The Frankfurt Madonna, in particular, manifests a fervent temperament and personal style distinct from Rogier's. Among the many features that are crucial in this respect are the disc-shaped haloes of Virgin and child with their heavy, ostentatiously precious and three-dimensional pearls and jewels, the cuttingly sharp light on the kerchief which is folded with extreme intricacy, the general display of realistic texture and the animal vitality in the posture and expression of the child. The Madonna in the National Gallery wears a ring, as does the one in Frankfurt. In both paintings the heavy sleeve with its wide fur-trimming shows ring-shaped folds. Overall there is a sumptuous expansiveness about the Frankfurt Madonna, with her hair pushing out at the temples.

The double shadows in the Holy Trinity, fashioned to create the illusion of sculpture, display that 'picturesque' enhancement of observation with which the Master of Flémalle sedulously aroused wonder.

On the other hand, there is no dearth of traits that point clearly towards Rogier. The sublime and solemn aloofness in the features of the Almighty and the Virgin,

15. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 10, 1899, pp. 1 ff., 129 ff.

the shape of her head, the relieflike composition against the neutral ground of Oriental hangings, the whole conception of the Trinity group—all these seem to go rather beyond the capacity of the Master of Flémalle. In its expressiveness and animation, the right hand with which St. Veronica holds the veil represents an achievement that can scarcely be credited to this master, all in all.

If this is indeed the kind of problem that faced us in the case of the Ghent altarpiece, where we sought to distinguish the shares of Hubert and Jan van Eyck, I despair of arriving at an unequivocal result. I incline to the view that in whatever common work may have been done the forces were inextricably joined together. Rogier's pre-eminent share lay in composition, the creation of types, the preliminary drawing; Robert Campin's in the execution.

The Master of Flémalle looked upon men and things without preconceived notions. We would expect him to be a portraitist, nor are we disappointed in the portraits of the donors in the Merode and Werl altarpieces. Among the individual portraits that have been associated with his name, two, in the National Gallery at London, stand out (55, Plates 82, 83). The rest are either dismayingly weak, like the two in Brussels, which may be copies (69, Plate 98), or not even instantly recognizable as being by his hand, like the two male portraits in Berlin.

The man and woman in London, each on a neutral dark ground, fill the picture area and are grave and heroic in effect, like Rogier's portraits, but a degree more personalized and several degrees fleshlier. The lighting is managed to create an effect of deep relief, but it also overwhelms the faces. Both are in half-profile, with the averted side in shadow, but these shadows are transparent, enlivened, lightened in places. Streaks of light and shade provide accents for generous interior contouring. The man looks resolute, his brow furrowed, his glance fiery, his mouth sorrowful. The woman, younger, has her shining eyes wide open. Her generous mouth nevertheless bespeaks concern. Her expression is one of graceful submissiveness, hidden temperament and carefully restrained warmth. The colours are deep, saturated, luminous, cool and heavy. The male portrait has large areas of red and green, while in the female portrait the face is framed in a voluminous white hood.

This *Portrait of a Woman* challenges comparison with the outwardly similar Berlin portrait which I had some trouble in placing among Rogier's works (see p. 26-27, above). The two masters converge here, but the dividing-line remains in evidence. Unexpectedly human and warm as Rogier's lady appears within the total context of his portraits, even here, in the best of them, he does not come close to the pictorial animation, the adventitiously individual characterization, the spontaneity of expression which are precisely what the Master of Flémalle captures in his best portrait. By comparison, Rogier's line is pure and generalized, his expression transfigured and purged.

Decision becomes difficult in the case of the man with the jowls in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (61, Plate 90). When I first saw this picture at a London auction in 1901, I gave it the name 'Master of Flémalle' and to the extent that there have been any judgments of it, the attribution has never been disputed. I on my part, however, have come to entertain doubts. The head appears against a light ground and is tightly framed, round and chubby, vivid in the extreme, a bravura piece, a striking depiction of a singular face, quite out of the ordinary. There is

sharp light on the large, heavy, pendent nose, casting deep shadows that serve the modelling, but also obscure the shape, partly of the mouth as well. Patches of reflected light enliven the shaded side of the face. The texture of the fat, slack cheeks is strongly emphasized, as are the wrinkles on the forehead and about the eyes, which look as though incised. There is an air of menacing animal instinct about this crassly large countenance, its lardy tissue pervaded by an imperious vitality—all of which is in character for the Master of Flémalle. On the other hand, the contours are drawn with extraordinary assurance and the character of the sitter has been accentuated and stripped bare in a manner that seems to exceed the capacity of this master.

There is nothing quite like this portrait. Indeed, nearest to it is the mourner (Plate 7) in Rogier's *Descent*¹⁶ in the Escorial who holds the Saviour's legs. His head is somewhat similar in configuration and modelled with the same vigour.

The question of Rogier *versus* the Master of Flémalle can be settled, in the case of this portrait, only in accordance with the view one takes of the relationship between the two masters. Personally, I can give the Berlin portrait to the Master of Flémalle only on the premise that it was done at a time when the two were close and when Rogier influenced his presumable teacher at least as strongly as the teacher influenced him.

I pass a similar judgment on the *Portrait of a Man* from the Gumprecht collection (63, Plate 91), which was sold in the Chillingworth auction in 1922. Another *Portrait of a Man* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (62, Plate 91), Berlin, showing a sitter with a fixed stare—it is olive in tone, with black shadows—is almost certainly the Master of Flémalle's work—if it can be considered an original, that is.

At some distance behind all the other panels properly ascribed to the Master of Flémalle come the painting in the Prado, the *Betrothal of the Virgin* (51, Plate 74), and the rather weaker *Annunciation*, also in Madrid (52, Plate 75), probably the two wings of a diptych. The architecture in the *Betrothal* is exceedingly complex, seen with the eyes of a painter, half Romanesque, half Gothic. On the right a deep church portal serves as the scene of the ceremony. On the left is a round chapel within which the Miracle of the Staff singles out Joseph. A trick sets the scene, theatrically, to receive the crowds. The church is a building—on the right only the portal is finished, while on the left the view leads across the stumps of pillars into the interior of the chapel. The structures are athwart in perspective, engendering a certain sense of unrest which is heightened by the people jostling one another. The composition is turbulent, its elements arranged closely in depth as well as side by side. Several figures are seen from the back. There is a noteworthy lack of symmetry, and of balance between the two episodes, which take place at different depths. The manner of the story-telling is reminiscent of the narrative idiom of the book illuminators, less so of tapestry. Dress is adorned with barbaric and eccentric jewellery. Faces are convulsed with tension, eyes cast malevolent glances, mouths are contorted into grins. The whole scene sparkles with light.

Its jerky, undisciplined vehemence, loud, heated and hurried speech, brittle and barbed fragmentation of form—all these incline me to regard these panels in the Prado as works by the Master of Flémalle, painted about 1428, before the Flémalle altarpiece itself.

16. This observation was made by Winkler, *loc. cit.*, p. 96.

Following directly upon it would be the *Nativity* in Dijon (53, Plate 76). A rather garrulous picture, overladen with motives, it stands midway between the Prado panels and the Merode altarpiece. The Somzée Madonna, which cannot have been done much later than the Merode altarpiece, leads on to the Frankfurt panels, to be dated about 1430. Into the later period, like the Werl altarpiece of 1438, belong the panel in Aix-en-Provence (66, Plate 94) and the two small pictures in St. Petersburg, the *Madonna by the Fireside* and the *Holy Trinity* (64, 65, Plates 93, 92). Composition and types of the simply and symmetrically constructed painting in Aix are determined on the model of Rogier, and its generous, three-dimensional drapery has little in common with the play of fabric that lent life to earlier pictures, even though it was there in keenly observed breadth.

More difficult to fit in is the panel *Jesus on the Cross, with the Mourners* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (68, Plate 95) which was attributed to the Master of Flémalle by von Tschudi, who acquired it at the Hulot auction. This attribution has elicited neither approval nor rejection. Side by side with features that unequivocally betoken this master are unexpected and irritating anomalies, mainly an overall sweetness and pleasing character which seem to accord ill with his rugged sincerity. Rogier's propinquity is evident in the group that includes the Virgin, who embraces the cross, and in the woman who stands—or rather, strides—behind her. This motive is linked, directly or indirectly, with the group of the Virgin and St. John realized by Rogier in the Vienna triptych.

Yet the body of the crucified Saviour departs markedly from the widely accepted scheme established by Rogier. Rogier outlines the body sharply, notes the changes in direction, emphasizes the joints, especially at the knee, while this master shows the smooth body altogether frontally and symmetrically, in bare and flowing lines. We encounter this approach to the crucified Saviour once again in a panel in the church of St. Sauveur in Bruges¹⁷.

The Berlin panel is light in tone and flowerlike in coloration, with rather little chiaroscuro. The proportions are conspicuously short.

Nothing in precise accord with it is found either in the oeuvre of this master or anywhere else. Its inclusion in that oeuvre can be maintained only on the premise of a very late date of origin.

A seated Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, from the von Kaufmann collection (50, Plate 73), has never been authoritatively ascribed to the Master of Flémalle, although the spontaneous originality of this picture cries out for a master's name and none other, among those who are known, is worthy of consideration. It shows a grassy nook, richly overgrown with vegetation, painted with considerable vigour and sharp contrasts of light and dark. Enhancing this air of natural light and space is a back-drop of dark brocade and the Madonna herself, although the configuration of her body within its garments is not at all clear. The disposition of the fabric, however, is bold and sweeping, altogether in the manner of the Master of Flémalle. The vigorously squirming child is hairless, as in the Berlin *Adoration* (76a, Plate 102), which has been described, with some justification, as a copy after the Master of Flémalle. The Virgin is shown with her hair high above her forehead, as in the *Madonna in the Apse* (74, Plate 101)—if the surviving copies of that painting give a proper idea of the original, that is. The Virgin's hand,

17. No. 6 in the catalogue of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, *Christ on the Cross, with Angels, the Virgin and a Donor*. A later copy, with a female donor, is in the Traumann collection, Madrid. A portion of the same composition, excellently done, is in the Brussels museum (Aynard auction, Paris, 1913).

on which the child is seated, closely resembles the Berlin *Adoration*, and also the Aix Madonna. This somewhat primitive and archaic painting may be tentatively viewed as a youthful work by the Master of Flémalle.

Conclusions and Conjectures on the Relationship between Rogier and the Master of Flémalle

The documentary evidence has now been presented and critically examined. Two personalities have been brought to life with some measure of success. We have proceeded on the premise that the Master of Flémalle was Robert Campin and have found this theory serviceable, in that it, surprisingly, explains a number of observations. To accommodate still other observations, we have modified the theory by giving a new interpretation to the relationship between Rogier and Campin.

If we accept the document reporting Rogier's entry into Campin's studio in 1427 in its literal sense (*commença son appresure*), we may imagine that he worked until then in some other trade, say, as a sculptor. Another possibility would be to view the registration as a pure formality. Perhaps Rogier joined Campin to become his assistant and collaborator. Perhaps Campin recruited him to help in certain large commissions and there was no form of association acceptable to the guild except *appresure*. If Rogier indeed joined Campin as an apprentice in the proper sense, he was of mature age and already married at the time. In any event, he must have been a man of soaring ambition and resolute will, bound to play a major rôle in the affairs of the studio within a short time, whatever his social position may have been; and the part he played must have grown in importance in the years until 1432, as he acquired all the skills of the painter's craft. Rogier became famous in his own lifetime. It is his name that the voices of the 15th century mention, not Campin's.

The parallel case of Jacques Daret supports the view that Campin must have taken on collaborators for extended periods of time. Daret too, according to the wording of the entry in the guild register, embarked on his *appresure* with Campin in 1427, yet we know that this cannot be taken literally, since he had been part of Campin's household for no less than nine years before that date, during which time he surely must have been an apprentice and assistant, even though not by the official rules of the guild. And when Daret left Campin's workshop in 1432, he was not merely a full-fledged master at Tournai, but one of much prestige, for he was at once appointed provost of the guild.

If we allow for the possibility that Rogier worked as a painter before 1427, we are able to restore confidence in the dubious dating of the Miraflores altarpiece. Ponz relates (see p. 13, above) that Pope Martin 1101, who died in 1431, presented this altarpiece to King John II. The Miraflores altarpiece is no more than a careful studio replica of the Granada altarpiece. We are thus led to put the Granada altarpiece, like the closely related St. John altarpiece in the museum at Berlin, into the period before 1427.

The development of both painters can be plausibly reconstructed on these premises: that Robert Campin was the Master of Flémalle; that Rogier was already an independent painter by 1425, but nevertheless joined Campin two years later; that the two painters influenced each other and developed their modified styles about 1430. First—between 1420 and 1427—come works by the two men that are quite distinct, the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the Prado, on the one hand, the Granada altar-

piece, on the other; next—between 1427 and 1438—come works so closely related that confusion becomes possible, the Frankfurt panels, the wings of the Werl altarpiece (1438), the portrait of a stout man in Berlin, on the one hand, the panel in the Escorial, on the other. After about 1440 come works by Rogier that are no longer touched by his temporary association with the Master of Flémalle, but instead return to his beginnings, manifesting his personal style, already clear in the Granada altarpiece, only now in enhanced and ultimately rigidified form.

The weakest link in this reconstruction is the period of the Granada altarpiece. Almost any approach to an understanding of Rogier's stylistic development leads to a sequence in which the Granada altarpiece and whatever is associated with it find their place between the *Descent* and the typical works of Rogier's mature style. Yet the reconstruction does not completely collapse when we withdraw this single buttress and decline to give an early date to the Granada altarpiece. If Rogier was a painter before 1427, his technique may then have been quite different, and it would have been only in Campin's studio that he learned about the newer methods.

Robert Campin, Rogier and Jacques Daret all came from Tournai and together represent that town's school of painting in the time between 1420 and 1440—the same period, in other words, during which Jan van Eyck, who came from Maaseyck, worked in Bruges and Ghent. The influence of the three painters from Tournai was felt far beyond the confines of that town—all the way to Brussels, Lille, Bruges and Arras. The Tournai tradition took on three living forms: Franco-Netherlandish book illumination, sculpture in relief and tapestry-weaving. The narrative approach of Robert Campin seems to link him with the art of book illumination, Rogier's compositional skill suggests an affinity with sculpture, while Daret is associated with tapestry-weaving. In mentioning this, however, I do not mean to make any dogmatic statements about the training, professional work and biographical details of these painters. Each of them may on occasion have worked in the fields of sculpture, illumination and tapestry. The sole point in question is that by disposition they seem to have been associated with a particular form of pictorial tradition. Of the three, Robert Campin is most nearly a painter in the narrower sense, having grasped the achievement of Jan van Eyck at an early stage. Possibly he may have fed on an unidentified source that gave nurture to Jan van Eyck as well. We certainly do not catch him imitating Jan van Eyck outright. His observation of light and chiaroscuro took on such bold and influential form that he deserves to be honoured as one of the founders of Netherlandish panel painting, next to Jan van Eyck. And if Jan van Eyck had his beginnings in the illumination of books, Campin is likely to have set out in the same way—or at least the direction of his talent may have been influenced by the stylistic laws and narrative traditions of illumination. Campin, full of temperament, naïve and sensuous by nature, was intent upon capturing life in terms of the phenomena of light and colour, in all its manifold animation and accidental wonder. Rogier, on the other hand, took seriously his vocation of visualizing the objects of worship—divine and hallowed solemnity rather than verisimilitude governed his approach to his work. True, he employed realism, needed it, took it for granted; but it was not his rewarding goal; and thus his style is cool and frugal. His interest in the painters who were observers and discoverers, who were the first to find beauty in the visible world, was for the sole purpose of acquiring their means

for his own purposes. Perhaps it was his urge to restate the old and everlasting in new terms that drove him to Robert Campin.

It is true that one speaks of a 'school' of Tournai, and by fixing upon some of Rogier's characteristics as the typical marks of this 'school,' far-reaching conclusions in the history of art have been attempted. Yet other masters of Tournai fail to display these qualities, and it is thus shown once again that historians live on ignorance, projecting their theories with a boldness and assurance that are in inverse proportion to the available material and evidence.

Drawings, Tapestries and Embroideries

48

Rogier was a draughtsman. His St. Luke portrays the Virgin, not with a brush, but with a metal stylus. The pure and subtle medium of the metalpoint was able to gratify his urge for expression. In our mind's eye, we may revel in visions of what the work of the master in this medium was like. Careful and frugal management of a limited scale of tonal values would surely have determined his formal idiom. He conceived with metalpoint in hand and began his work on panels with metalpoint as well (111). We look for specimen drawings that might hold out the hope of telling us first and ultimate things about his personal touch, of testifying to the innermost core of his being.

There are indeed drawings in the Rogierian style, excellent ones too that entice and ingratiate. Many of them are mentioned in Winkler's book, which reproduces several. Often we can compare the drawing with the painting, only to find, as a rule, that the drawing is based, directly or indirectly, on the painting and is by no means a design or preliminary sketch. Only a handful of sheets remain that can lay any claim to being originals.

This pitiful remnant of surviving drawings will be viewed with profound suspicion by anyone who has pursued the obscure and confused trail of indolent and slow-moving studio methods, who has run down students and imitators, who has seen familiar compositional elements turn up on every side again and again, who realizes that young apprentices forever made drawings, and drawings from drawings, and that pictorial ideas were passed on mainly through the medium of drawings. This suspicion is confirmed by direct scrutiny, from case to case. If even the most beautiful drawing in the style of the Master of Flémalle, the *St. Veronica* (Plate 89A) in Cambridge, which coincides with the picture in Frankfurt in virtually every detail, is rightly considered nothing more than a particularly careful drawing from the painting, we are likely to reach the same unhappy conclusion in respect of Rogier as well.

Our attention is drawn to the masterly silverpoint drawing in the Louvre¹, a head of the Virgin (Plate 129A), which Winkler has rightly extolled. It must have been done for such a picture as the Madonna in half-length in the Renders collection, or the one in Donaueschingen, and as a preliminary study rather than from life, for it is no less severely stylized than the heads in these paintings. Yet there is some doubt even about this statement. Despite its great subtlety and assurance, the sheet lacks that sense of organic unity we expect to mark an original drawing. The upper margin ends exactly as in the paintings, which makes us suspicious. The face is modelled with great care and the hair on one side is skilfully indicated, but the terminal lines of the kerchief have been added in an uncertain and incomprehensible manner. The drawing seems to have been taken from a larger context, which would mean that it was made from a painting.

Esteemed even more highly is the drawing in the British Museum, which coincides with the Mary Magdalene in the triptych in the Louvre² (Plate 48A). This

1. Giraudon's photograph No. 428, reproduced in Winkler, as Pl. XI.

2. Reproduced in Vasari Society publication II, No. 18. Another drawing showing this same Mary Magdalene reached the British Museum with the Salting bequest, but it is regarded as a drawing from the painting (*loc. cit.*, No. 19) (Plate 48B).

half-length figure is drawn with great subtlety, coinciding with the painting in every detail. The landscape in the background is sketched with only a few fleeting lines, quite incomprehensible to anyone who does not know the painting. I think it inconceivable that Rogier should have sketched his background beforehand so casually and 'picturesquely.' The drawing must have been made from the painting. But this inescapable conclusion does not condemn the sheet as being by another hand. It is possible, although unlikely, that the master made the drawing from his own painting, perhaps to conserve the composition for his studio. None of the drawings which have been seriously considered are sufficiently different from the paintings in conception and feeling. They already contain everything the paintings contain, just as, by comparison, the paintings still contain everything the drawings contain.

The best Rogier drawing, so far as I can see, is the *Virgin at Prayer* in the British Museum³ (Plate 129 B); and even it seems to have been taken from a larger pictorial context.

The few drawings from life, portraits, are less questionable. Some of them inspire confidence as originals, and I myself feel entitled to regard at least one sheet as by Rogier's own hand, a half-length figure of a man in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett⁴ (Plate 129 C). The lines of the garment are conspicuously rounded. This portrait was done about 1440.

Tapestry-weaving flourished in Tournai and later in Brussels. We know of one Tournai painter, Rogier's fellow student in Campin's workshop, that he made a design for a tapestry (see p. 35, above). One might actually venture the guess that the flowering of tapestry-weaving in Brussels may have had something to do with Rogier's settling in that town. In any event, we must conclude that the Bernese tapestries with their themes of justice are derived from Rogier's painting in the Brussels town hall (Plate 132 C).

Later tapestry designers occasionally went back to Rogier's compositions. But I have never seen a tapestry the cartoon for which would seem to have been actually done by the master, nor are there any signs that his style had an important influence on the tapestry-weavers' craft. Indeed, it would seem that the Brussels weaving shops attained stature only at a time when Rogier's sway was broken. Two pieces from the Musée des Gobelins in Paris, exhibited in Brussels in 1905⁵, date from the middle of the 15th century (Plate 132 A, B). The centre of one shows an *Annunciation*, the other an *Adoration* 1121. The Virgin's chamber is crowded and disordered, more in the manner of the Master of Flémalle than of Rogier. The designer of these tapestries belonged to the circle that was familiar with Rogier's store of types—no more definite determination is possible.

Besides tapestry-weaving, the art of embroidery was cultivated in Tournai. Documents give us an idea of the demands that were made of this craft by the Burgundian princes and the clerical and secular lords who rivalled them in their thirst for luxury. What its products actually looked like we can gather from the incomparable store of vestments for the Order of the Golden Fleece that is kept in Vienna⁶.

Painters must have certainly provided designs for embroidery. Schlosser quite rightly recognized the styles of Rogier and of the Master of Flémalle in the types and compositional elements of the fabrics in Vienna. It is true, however, that the

3. Reproduced in Winkler, Pl. xxiv.

4. No. 1372 (silverpoint, 9.8 x 8.1).

5. Destrée, *Tapisseries... Bruxelloises*, 1906, Pls. I and II.

6. Schlosser, *Der Burgundische Paramentenschatz*, Vienna, 1912.

formal idiom is blurred by translation into needlework. One of the motives that recurs repeatedly in the workshops of the Master of Flémalle and Rogier—the Almighty supporting the body of Christ—is seen in an antependium that is among the earliest items in the Vienna treasure (Plate 99c). The work of several designers of stature is, in fact, evident, and the execution must have extended over a considerable period of time.

In another instance our vision is much clearer. The museum at Berne owns a cope with the arms of James of Romont (who died in 1486), and the scenes embroidered on it evidence a similarity with Rogier's style, the scenes of the sacraments harking back to the corresponding groups in the Cambrai altarpiece⁷ (Plates 130-131, A-F). Indeed, we have the designs for these embroideries in the form of a set of silverpoint drawings at Oxford⁸ (Plates 130-131, H-K). These drawings are not by Rogier, but rather by a competent copyist who modified, for purposes of embroidery work, the motives entrusted to him from Rogier's studio. Preserved in the form of drawings are four of the sacrament scenes, the Holy Trinity and the Elevation of the Host for the backpiece of the vestment (131). And here the body of Jesus is again shown as in the Petersburg panel by the Master of Flémalle.

A daughter of Jacques Daret learned the art of embroidery in 1418⁹, giving us a noteworthy hint of the connection between the Tournai painter and the embroidery craft.

7. Stammer, *Der Paramentenschatz im Historischen Museum zu Bern*, 1895, p. 89 ff.; Winkler, p. 46 ff.

8. Reproduced in Vasari Society publication VIII, 15-18.

9. Hulin, from Houtart, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 19, p. 224.

Rogier's Influence

51

Rogier was born to rule and lay down rules. He established models and ideals. The essence of his achievement was far from mysterious. Although it lay in the realm of the spirit, it was out in the open for everyone to see. It was readily identified, it could be copied, translated into other media, measured. In terms of both time and place, Rogier's influence was more profound than that of any other painter of the 15th century. On every side we encounter the reflection of his keen, cold light. Study Netherlandish painting in the second half of the 15th century, and step upon step you will find how his compositions live on, his types, his themes. It is not merely that a few painters of the ensuing generation chose to follow the Rogierian line because they liked it, because their own innate approach was along a similar line. No, the Rogierian form became obligatory—indeed, it became almost a strait jacket. What was to be represented was the Christian mythology, and the way to represent it was the way Rogier had seen it. The hereafter was perceived as he saw it, and taken to be true. Younger painters developed only within the limitations of this tradition—or in struggle against them. The less creative artists, especially in Brussels, but also in Bruges, subsisted on the heritage Rogier had left behind.

In Brussels it was particularly his son who administered this legacy, although we do not know just how. Of Rogier's four children, one son, Pieter, born in Brussels in 1437, became a painter and kept on working in Brussels, where he died early in the 16th century. Two sons of Pieter, Goossen (born in 1465) and Rogier, also became painters and moved from Brussels to Antwerp¹.

Only one of these direct descendants, Goossen, has become a reasonably defined personality, thanks to Hulin's efforts; and in his work the tradition lived on, although somewhat modified in the course of time.

In Tournai and Beaune stood altarpieces by Rogier's hand, their solemn austerity casting a spell over the younger masters.

In Italy Rogier himself had been a visitor. In Ferrara, Florence and perhaps even Rome, paintings by him were held in awe. In the South, the ascetic austerity of the North was generally regarded as over pious and not of this world, but Rogier's idiom soon became familiar to the zealous devoutness of the Spanish. As early as the 15th century and in the mid-16th, the time of Philip, many altarpieces by the Brussels master went to the Iberian peninsula.

Painting with an inner affinity for sculpture was bound to react upon sculpture itself. In the second half of the 15th century, Brussels saw the development of an export trade in altarpieces carved in wood, which went to Scandinavia, the Rhineland and the cities of the Hanseatic League, where they scattered a good deal of Rogier's heritage. The St. Columba altarpiece stood in Cologne, and the effect of this work on the easy-going painters of the Lower Rhine can be traced, for they were unable to ignore such a dramatic challenge.

Schongauer visited Brussels, presumably while Rogier was still alive. In any event, his drawing style and his types were developed in the Netherlands. In at least

1. Hulin, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 34, 1913, p. 59 ff.

two instances, we know he made use of Rogier. In his drawings, he used the Saviour from the Beaune altarpiece, and also a bust-length Christ². The case of Herlin in Nördlingen is remarkable and typical as that of a South German painter who visited the Netherlands about 1450, where he became familiar with Rogier's compositions³. Sometimes the example bore fruit, sometimes not. Winkler's book carries many mentions of German imitations.

Rogier provided the sound foundation for the art of Memling; and the fact that Memling's mild and amiable nature unfolded so fortunately may have been due to the firm support provided by his strict training in the Brussels workshop. Memling in Bruges and Schongauer in Southwest Germany, both of them drawing directly on Rogier, are the progenitors of a wealth of form.

In Catalogue A of Rogier's works which follows, many copies are enumerated, providing material for a history of Rogier's influence. But there exist copies too of original works that have been lost (see Catalogue C). We cannot always decide whether we are dealing with copies or independent efforts by imitators. It would be most desirable to be able to make a clear distinction between workshop replicas, such as the Miraflores altarpiece in Berlin and the St. John altarpiece in Frankfurt, on the one hand, and copies done outside Rogier's workshop, on the other. Pupils of the Brussels town painter established their own workshops and hobbled along on the crutches of the Rogierian tradition. We seek to observe where and how that discipline was relaxed. In general, paintings were not copied from paintings, but rather from cartoons and drawings. Hence form was preserved with greater fidelity than colour; Rogier's invention was used piecemeal; several of his elements might be combined; compositions, and figures from compositions, were used in reverse, for example, by tracing through the back of the paper; half-length figures were derived from full-length ones, especially in the case of Madonnas. Apprentices and journeymen drew for the most part on drawings and carried with them a store of compositions in black-and-white when they moved on or established themselves on their own.

2. J. Rosenberg, *Martin Schongauer, Handzeichnungen*, Munich, 1923, Pls. 15, 23.

3. F. Haack, *Fritz Herlin*, Strasbourg, 1900; M. Lossnitzer, *Veit Stoss*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 30; E. Buchner, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, Vol. 13, 1923, p. 1 ff.

Supplement to Rogier van der Weyden

A thoroughgoing revision of all the chapters of this volume becomes necessary, now that Emile Renders has lit a fuse under the figure of the Master of Flémalle, as he did under the inscription of the Ghent altarpiece¹.

Any review of the documentary evidence and of everything else that has been learned so far is greatly aided by the excellent compilation in the two volumes published by Jules Destrée in 1930².

First of all, a few dates which were still equivocal to me in 1924. The Brussels town painter Rogier was born in Tournai in 1399 or 1400, the son of Henri, a cutler. No later than 1425, he married a girl from Brussels. His son Cornelis was born in 1427. At the outset, the so-called Master of Flémalle, having been created from one of Rogier's ribs, was accounted a follower of his; then, as the result of refinements in stylistic analysis, he was regarded as a predecessor. When note was taken of a document unearthed in Tournai, according to which a certain 'Rogelet de le Pasture' embarked upon an apprenticeship with Robert Campin in 1427, continuing in that rôle for five years, the conclusion was drawn that the Master of Flémalle was none other than that same Robert Campin. The entire hypothesis of a flourishing school in Tournai stands and falls with this identification, to which Hulin de Loo, Jules Destrée and many other scholars cling.

In 1924 I was at pains to come to terms with this combination, but I now share the doubts Renders has formulated against it with such acute passion. According to another document, the magistrates of Tournai on two occasions in 1426 presented a gift of wine to 'Maître Roger.' Could it really be true that Rogier, 27 years old, married, father of a son and described as 'Maître,' entered Campin's workshop as an apprentice called 'Rogelet'—note the name well? Must we not rather assume that this 'Rogelet' was a younger member of the van der Weyden family, say, a nephew of the Brussels town painter Rogier? If the two documents do not refer to the same person, the main argument for identifying the Master of Flémalle as Robert Campin vanishes and all we know of Campin is that he worked in Tournai and was the teacher of Jacques Daret.

Renders denies the existence of the Master of Flémalle and ascribes all the works subsumed under that name to the great and renowned Rogier. This theory is not altogether new. Ludwig Scheibler never accepted the separation of the Master of Flémalle from Rogier. Firmenich-Richartz disputed it strongly, a fact that has drawn too little notice (See p. 34). I myself endeavoured to explain the blurred dividing-line between the two masters with some difficulty, on the assumption that they may have worked together in the time around 1430 (See p. 38 ff.).

At the heart of the problem, in my view, stands the panel with the Good Thief in the Stædelsches Kunstinstitut (59, Plate 87). It is the sole surviving fragment of an altarpiece we know as a whole from an old copy in the Liverpool museum (59a, Plate 86). The centrepiece shows a *Descent from the Cross*, the left shutter the Bad Thief with a female saint and a donor who is unlikely to have been taken from the

1. *La Solution du Problème van der Weyden Flémalle* Campin, Charles Beyaert, Bruges, 1931.

2. *Roger de la Pasture*, van Oest, Paris and Brussels.

original, while the right shutter shows the Good Thief with two standing warriors in full-length. On the outsides of the shutters are John the Baptist and St. Julian. Only the upper half of the right shutter is preserved in the original. Since the fragment in Frankfurt measures 133×92.5 cm, we can calculate that the centrepiece of the lost work must have been 220×220 cm and the total width with shutters open 450 cm. This triptych, therefore, approached the dimensions of the Ghent and Portinari altarpieces. It probably stood in Bruges and was presumably done soon before 1430, in other words before the Ghent altarpiece was finished. Place and date are based on observations by Hulin.

This grandiose composition was painted in Jan van Eyck's lifetime and exerted its effect far and wide; and when we look for its author, we pose a question crucial to the history of Netherlandish panel painting. In many respects, especially the monumental effect of the lifesize figures and the audacious postures, the work was superior to the Ghent altarpiece, which, by comparison, appears like a gallery of miniatures. Indeed, among all the works known to us there is but one that resembles it in kind, value and significance. And that is Rogier's *Descent from the Cross* in the Escorial (3, Plate 6).

Very well, the Thief in Frankfurt is an indispensable link in the group of pictures that have been ascribed to the so-called Master of Flémalle, and this master is regarded as the head of the Tournai school, identified as Robert Campin, born in 1378.

I shall leave all questions of stylistic analysis aside for the moment and ask only two questions: Is it likely that Bruges, in 1430, called upon a painter from Tournai to do this impressive altarpiece? Again, is it possible that the name of that master should have fallen into total oblivion?

The fact that Rogier, whom Scheibler to his dying day regarded as the painter of the Frankfurt panel, worked in Bruges and was renowned there can be documented by more than one piece of evidence. Van Mander speaks of a Rogier of Bruges, whom he regarded as another person than the town painter of Brussels. Speaking of his visit to the art treasures of Bruges, Dürer mentions the names of three masters—not Memling, not Gerard David, but Jan van Eyck, Hugo van der Goes and, twice, 'Rudiger.' Vaernewyck (*Historie van Belgis*, p. 133) says: *Die stadt van Brugghe is verschiert niet alleene in die kerken... van meester Rogiers....schilderie.*

Under stylistic scrutiny, this altarpiece—the composition of which we know from the Liverpool copy, and the execution of which we can study in the Frankfurt fragment—is closely related to Rogier's *Descent*, more closely than any other work, more closely than to any other work.

I venture to assert that if the panel in the Escorial were on view in the Stædelsches Kunstinstitut beside the panel of the Thief, instead of far away in Spain, it would not have been possible to construct the personality of the Master of Flémalle—or at least not in the way in which it was done. The agreement between the two altarpieces is so striking that we must assume not only the identity of their authors but an approximately simultaneous time of origin. For corroboration of this statement, I refer to the excellent reproductions in the book by Renders.

The 'œuvre' of the Master of Flémalle also becomes vulnerable in another place. The Werl shutters in the Prado (67, Plates 96, 97), dated 1438, can be fitted into the œuvre of Rogier with relative ease. The *Annunciation* in the Louvre (9, Plate 17)

is closely related to these shutters, and for that reason it has been given to the Master of Flémalle, although with reservations. When it was acknowledged, at the Brussels exhibition of 1935, that the two panels in Turin (6, Plate 13) belong to this *Annunciation*, as shutters, Rogier's authorship of the *Annunciation* could scarcely be disputed any longer. The chamber of St. Barbara, in the one Werl shutter, shows the same metal pitcher as the chamber of the *Annunciation*, nor is this a question of simple copying. The identical vessel is depicted, first from one angle, then from another.

The similarity of the hand of the Baptist in the Werl shutter, on the one hand, and of the Saviour in *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, in Rogier's Granada altarpiece, on the other (1, Plate 2), has often been noted. The same study underlies both of these hands. The hand of the St. Veronica in Frankfurt (66, Plate 88), by the way, moves in similar fashion. I had drawn certain conclusions from these observations, as to the sequence in time of these works, dating the Granada altarpiece before 1438. I do not now maintain these conclusions, but believe rather that the Granada altarpiece was done between 1440 and 1445.

If the identity of the Master of Flémalle has begun to waver, because some of the main works attributed to his name find their clearly delimited place within Rogier's œuvre, that does not necessarily mean that Rogier painted all the panels given to the Master of Flémalle. Renders, however, purports to do away with him altogether, describing the development of Rogier's creative personality in a long string of works. The list that follows seeks to show how blending the paintings given to the Master of Flémalle into the generally acknowledged works of Rogier allows the continuous growth of a single personality to emerge:

- 1425-29 *Betrothal of the Virgin, Annunciation*, Prado (51, 52, Plate 74, 75)
- Nativity*, Dijon (53, Plate 76-77)
- St. George*, London, collection of Lady Evelyn Mason (Supp. 130, Plate 136)
- Virgin with Saints*, Aix-en-Provence (66, Plate 94)
- Merode altarpiece*, Brussels (54, Plate 77-79)
- Two portraits, London, National Gallery (55, Plates 82, 83)
- 1430-37 *Portrait of Robert, Seigneur de Masmines* (\pm 1430), Berlin (61, Plate 90)
- The Good Thief*, Frankfurt (59, Plate 87)
- Descent from the Cross*, Escorial (3, Plate 6)
- Altarpiece shutters, supposedly from the Abbey of Flémalle, Frankfurt (60, Plates 88, 89)
- Diptych, Vienna (7, Plates 14, 15)
- Madonna, Lugano, Thyssen collection (from the Northbrook collection; 8, Plate 16)
- Portrait of a Woman* (Rogier's wife?), Berlin (4, Plate 11)
- 1438 The Werl altarpiece shutters, Prado (67, Plates 96, 97)
- About 1438 Altarpiece, the *Annunciation* in the Louvre (9, Plate 17), shutters in Turin (6, Plate 13)
- 1439-45 Turin altarpiece, Lake of Zug, Abegg collection (Supp. 131, Plate 134-135)
- Crucifixion*, Berlin (68, Plate 95)
- Altarpiece with *Crucifixion*, Vienna (11, Plate 18-19)
- Granada altarpiece (1, Plate 1)

Here we continue with the Bladelin altarpiece (Berlin) and whatever else is properly catalogued under Rogier's name.

This total œuvre which, in my former view, fell into two parts is most firmly amalgamated into one by the altarpiece from Turin—with a *Crucifixion* as the centrepiece—which, until then quite unknown, came to the Abegg collection a few years ago. Its right shutter shows two figures that coincide, on the one hand, with the warriors in the wing of the Frankfurt Thief and, on the other, with the kings in the Bladelin altarpiece³.

I find it hardest to accept as Rogier's work the two panels in Madrid that have been put at the beginning; and the *Crucifixion* in Berlin also gives me concern.

The apex of the road, the stages of which are indicated in this list, lies between 1430 and 1438, the time, in other words, that saw the creation of the *Portrait of a Woman* in Berlin (which, by a bit of endearing guesswork, has been regarded as a portrait of Rogier's wife), the *Descent from the Cross* in the Escorial and the Werl shutters. It is passing strange that precisely the most felicitous creations have been taken away from the great Rogier and given to the so-called Master of Flémalle. The power of tradition—even comparatively recent tradition—is strong; and for that reason, once the Master of Flémalle was posited, no doubt ever attached to the pieces catalogued under his name. But when the Berlin portrait, and later the *St. George*, turned up, the connoisseurs found themselves in a characteristic dilemma and were undecided whether to opt for Rogier or the nameless master. If there was a Master of Flémalle, Rogier was no more than an imitator of this inventive painter, a usurper of the fame that was properly his predecessor's due. Yet if we put the works in sequence, we perceive a continuing process of change. The lusty opulence, the illusion of depth, the provocative contrasts of light and dark recede more and more, while at the same time composition becomes more lucid, perspective more precise, draughtsmanship more delicate and stylized. My characterization of the Master of Flémalle fits Rogier's youth, my description of Rogier himself his late period.

Let those who cling to a Master of Flémalle, identifying him with Robert Campin, as Rogier's teacher, speak of a 'school' of Tournai, celebrate that 'school' with zealous local patriotism, in opposition to the Flemish 'school' of Jan van Eyck. Renders does a radical job of house-cleaning in respect of this view. In common with certain voices from the 15th century, he declares Rogier to have been a disciple of Jan van Eyck.

Jan van Eyck, born in Maaseyck, cannot be considered outright as a representative of the Flemish character. If Rogier, identical with the Master of Flémalle, seems to show an affinity with Jan van Eyck about 1430, it should be taken into account that he was 30 years old at the time. He must have been an apprentice sometime between 1415 and 1420, and this could scarcely have been in Jan van Eyck's workshop.

Since Rogier was undeniably born in Tournai, it may still be permissible to regard the deep contrast between him and Jan van Eyck as conditioned by race and ethnic origin, even though the two currents did come in touch with each other.

(from Volume XIV)

3. Cf. illustration in *Pantheon*, 1933, p. 17 ff.

The Putative Vrancke van der Stockt

57

The large altarpiece of the Salvation in the Prado (47, Plates 66, 67) has been erroneously regarded as the Cambrai altarpiece, Rogier's authorship of which is authenticated. What militates against this identification, apart from the style, is the work's provenance from the Convent of Los Angeles in Madrid. It is hard to imagine that a work from a church in Northern France could have come to a Spanish convent. Hulin de Loo, moreover, has adduced evidence concerning a follower of Rogier as the author of the supposed Cambrai altarpiece, outlining his style with assurance and even proposing a hypothetical name¹. He provides grounds for the speculation that Vrancke van der Stockt, born in 1420 (?), died in 1496 (?), town painter of Brussels after Rogier's death, was that master's most devoted follower.

Several of the pictures enumerated in my Catalogue C—Nos. 83 (Plate 106), 87 (Plate 107), 95 (Plate 111), 99 (Plate 113), 100 (Plate 113), 101 (Plate 114), 102 (in part) (Plate 113), 122 (Plate 126)—have been rightly given by Hulin to this master, who had a rich store of Rogier's drawings at his disposal and appears to have been the heir of the great Brussels master. His œuvre is undoubtedly capable of considerable expansion. In addition to the panels named by Hulin, I know a *Lazarus Raised from the Dead* (Plate 140A), in private hands in Madrid (114), and two shutters with donors (Plates 140B, C). One of them, with the Baptist and a donor, was auctioned in London in 1936, from the collection of H. Oppenheimer (115). The other, with St. Margaret and a woman donor, was auctioned in April 1937 in the same city, as a Dieric Bouts (116). Two altarpiece shutters in the Khanenko collection, now presumably in the museum at Kiev (Plates 140D, E), also belong to this group (117).

Rogier's tragic gravity is here transformed into coy bemusement. Certain peculiarities of his style are exaggerated almost into caricature. Lips pout as though they had been bee-stung. Hands move irresolutely.

(from Volume XIV)

1. *Biographie Nationale*,
Vol. 24, 1926-1929, col. 66 ff.;
catalogue of the Brussels
exhibition of 1935, p. 15.

The Catalogues

59

Catalogue A lists all the paintings that are, in my view, by Rogier, in the presumable order of their creation. Included are replicas and copies, also copies of parts of the paintings. These are designated *a, b, c, ...*

Catalogue B includes all the paintings by the Master of Flémalle and Jacques Daret. A few doubtful works are added. Here too there has been an attempt at chronological sequence.

Catalogue C enumerates works closely associated with Rogier—workshop paintings, copies after lost works, imitations. In every case I have endeavoured to establish the relationship to the master. The arrangement is by themes.

The panels are of oak, unless otherwise stated.

Measurements are in centimetres. Height precedes width. In the case of altar-pieces with shutters, the dimensions of the centrepiece are given first, followed by the width of the shutters.

Because of the disruption in international communications occasioned by the war, I am often unaware of the present whereabouts of paintings I last saw in the possession of art dealers. In such instances, I have noted the dealer's name and the year in which I saw the painting in his possession.

A small circle (o) indicates additional material from Friedländer's Volume XIV, or, when stated explicitly, from another publication by this author. A small black dot (•), material added by the editors.

1. (Plates 1-2) *Altarpiece of the Virgin*. Three panels of equal size, side by side: *The Holy Family*, *The Lamentation*, *Christ Appears to His Mother*. In the Capilla Real of the cathedral in Granada. Only two of the panels remain there, the third, *Christ Appears to His Mother* having entered the Dreicer collection from private hands in Spain and thus reached the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The original size was 68×39 for each panel, but large pieces have been sawn off the top of the two in Granada. Cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 40, 1908, p. 289 ff.; von Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 31, p. 47 ff.; cf. p. 13, above. • The painted surfaces of the two panels in Granada now each measure: 50.2×37 cm.

a. (Plates 1, 3) The so-called *Miraflores Altarpiece*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 534A (71×43 each), a faithful replica of the Granada altarpiece. On provenance, dating and relation to the Granada altarpiece, cf. von Bode, *Ämtliche Berichte aus den Berliner Museen*, Vol. 30, col. 28 ff., and p. 13, above. Cf. also A. J. Wauters, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 22, p. 75 ff., where the altarpiece is claimed to have been a gift to the pope by the town of Louvain. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

b. *The Lamentation*, the central panel. Al. Orlof auction, Paris, 1920, No. 66 (71×56). A dry, archaic imitation, with the Magdalene added.

2. (Plates 4, 5) *The St. John Altarpiece*. Three panels of equal size, side by side: *The Birth of St. John the Baptist*, *The Baptism of Jesus*, *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 534B (each panel 77×48). The compositional style, with framing portals richly set with sculpture, is entirely like the Granada altarpiece. The St. John altarpiece may also come from Miraflores, and it may have originally been created as a pendant to the equal-sized altarpiece of the Virgin. Cf. von Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 31, p. 56. Two of the panels were acquired for Berlin at the auction of the collection of King William of Holland in 1850, the third one comes from England. According to James Weale (*Bruges et ses Environs*, p. 149, note 4), Battista de Aquelli, a merchant of Pisa, gave an altarpiece painted by Rogier and dealing with the life of St. John the Baptist to the church of St. James in Bruges. • The *St. John Altarpiece* is now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 4) Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 101 (each panel 44×27). A faithful workshop copy.

3. (Plates 6, 7) *The Descent from the Cross*. Escorial (formerly in the crossbowmen's chapel of the church of Our Lady Outside the Walls, Louvain, 220×262). On the lost shutters, cf. Justi, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1886, p. 97. See pp. 13-14 and 16-17, above [181]. • Since 1939 exhibited at the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Cat. No. 2825.

a. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 534 ($149 \times 51-265$ at the middle), dated 1488, with the crossbow insignia. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

b. (Plate 9) Prado, Madrid, No. 1,818 (1,893)—(200 × 263)—probably the copy by Coxcie, mentioned by van Mander. • Now on exhibition at the Escorial.

c. Prado, Madrid, No. 2,193a (1,894)—(235 × 260), a faithful copy from the 15th century. Cf. *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, Vol. 6, cuaderno 35.

• d. Missing in the original edition.

e. (Plate 8) St. Peter's, Louvain, the Edelheer altarpiece, dated 1443 (?). The shutters show the donor's family, with saints (100 × 110—45).

f. Bridgewater House, London, reduced size, 16th century.

g. Vienna art market, tall format, curved at the top, with a rich landscape, Netherlandish, about 1500.

h. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 373 (Valentiner's catalogue II; 111 × 124), by Joos van Cleve, with landscape, from the collection of Lord Heytesbury.

i. (Plate 10) Engraving by C. Cort, Coburg Castle.

• j. Missing in the original edition.

k. (Plate 10) Engraving by the Master of the Banderoles, Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Lehrs, 20, cf. p. 39-40, above.

l. Lázaro collection, Madrid, head of the first man from the right. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

m. Brussels museum, No. 517 (48 × 32), head of the weeping old woman at extreme left.

n. *Ibidem*, No. 598 (32 × 25), head of St. John.

For references to other copies, cf. Winkler, p. 163 f. The figure of the Magdalene has been taken over in other compositions on a number of occasions.

4. (Plate 11) *Portrait of a Woman*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 545D (47 × 32). An escutcheon scraped out on the back. This extraordinary work should be dated about 1435, cf. p. 26-27, above. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

5. (Plate 12) *The Visitation*. Speck von Sternburg collection, Lützschena, near Leipzig (57 × 36). About 1435, cf. p. 17-18, above. • Now in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Inv. No. 1550.

6. (Plate 13) *The Visitation*. Turin museum, with an opposing shutter, showing a donor, kneeling, the figure overpainted, the landscape well-preserved, Nos. 312, 320 (89 × 36 each) 1191. About 1435, cf. p. 17-18, above.

7. (Plates 14, 15) *Madonna, Standing*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 632. Companion piece: *St. Catherine*, No. 633 (18 × 12 each), which may have originally formed the back of the Madonna panel, or perhaps a righthand shutter. Possibly identical with a Madonna, which the Anonimo Morelliano saw in the Vendramin house in Venice about 1530—*quadretto in tavola della nostra Donna sola con el puttino in braccio, in piedi, in un tempio Ponentino, con la corona in testa, fu de mano de Rugerio da Bruges et è opera a oglio perfettissima*. (English edition of the Anonimo, London, 1903, p. 124)

About 1435, cf. p. 18, above. Often detached from the master's oeuvre. • Inv. Nos. 951 and 955.

8. (Plate 16) *Madonna, Seated*. Collection of Lord Northbrook, London (14 × 10.5), No. 1 in Weale's catalogue, No. 30 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. About 1435, cf. p. 18. Often severed from the master's oeuvre, together with Nos. 7, 9 and 10. • Now in Lugano, Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza).

9. (Plate 17) *The Annunciation*. Louvre, No. 2,202 (86 × 92). Particularly graceful and charming. If by Rogier, about 1435, under the influence of the Master of Flémalle, in whose spirit the space is constructed and lighted. Frequently attributed to a follower.

a. (Plate 133) Provincial Museum, Bonn, No. 319 (68 × 68). The angel. Outside of an altarpiece shutter 1201. On the reverse side, the Tiburtine sibyl, copied from the Bladelin altarpiece. • Brought back in 1936 to the Berlin Museum, to which it belonged. Now in the Bode-Museum, Berlin (East), No. 555.

b. Sedelmeyer auction, Paris, 1907, No. 217 (46 × 28). Mediocre 15th century copy.

10. (Plate 16) *The Annunciation*. Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, No. 396 (20 × 12). About 1435 (?). Frequently attributed to a follower 1211.

11. (Plates 18, 19) *Triptych with Christ on the Cross and the Mourners*. Left, *Mary Magdalene*, right, *St. Veronica*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 634 (110 × 73—34). About 1440, cf. p. 20, above 1221. Some extensive restorations in the centre panel. • Inv. No. 901.

12. (Plates 20, 21) *Mary Magdalene Reading*. National Gallery, London, No. 654 (61 × 52). A fragment, with overpainted ground, probably from a large Madonna panel 1231. Von Tschudi wavers between Rogier and the Master of Flémalle (*Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 19, p. 34). An excellent piece of work, dating from 1440, about the time of the Vienna triptych.

13. (Plate 22) *Portrait of a Mature Woman*. Collection of Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris (47 × 38). From the Nieuwenhuys collection (No. 4 in the auction catalogue of 1883). Evidently the portrait of a lady of high rank, ill-according with the inscription *Persica Sibylla*. Cf. p. 26, above. • Now [1937] in the Rockefeller collection, New York. • Now in the collection of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr.

14. (Plates 23-31) *The Last Judgment*. Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune (135, in the centre 215, entire width 560). A donation by Chancellor Rolin, whose portrait, with that of his wife, and with Sts. Sebastian and Anthony, appears on the outside of the shutters. The state of this altarpiece gives cause for concern. A careful restoration, in the course of which some of the paintings were transferred to canvas, has rendered all damage invisible, and caution is indicated in drawing conclusions from the stylistic impression 1241. Rolin established the hospital in 1443 1251. Pope Eugene granted

him leave to dedicate his endowment to St. Anthony, represented on the altarpiece. Pope Nicholas (1447-1455) designated St. John the Baptist as patron saint, in place of St. Anthony; and this suggests that the altarpiece was done soon after 1443 and probably before 1450.

Cf. Mély, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 35, 1906, p. 21 ff. Noteworthy among the senseless portrait identifications that have been here attempted is the one that would have the crowned personage behind St. Peter bear the features of Philip the Good. The man on the right beside the prince, very much of portrait aspect, appears to be the same dignitary who stands beside Rolin and Chevrot in the well-known miniature rightly given to Rogier (Plate 35A; cf. p. 25, above).

15. (Plates 32, 33) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Two panels, the outside shutters of a triptych, painted almost in grisaille, only the strips of fabric showing vermillion. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, Nos. 333, 334 (Valentiner's catalogue 2, 175 × 91 each). In its simple, concentrated design, a highly characteristic invention of the master. About 1445.

16. (Plates 34, 35) *Jean Chevrot's Altarpiece of the Sacraments*. Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, Nos. 393-395 (200 × 97; 120 × 63). Centre, Christ on the Cross and the Mourners, in the background, celebration of the mass; left, baptism, confirmation and confession; right, ordination, marriage and extreme unction. Some male heads overpainted, otherwise well-preserved. Acquired in Dijon in 1826. Chevrot was Bishop of Tournai from 1437 to 1460 1261. This masterpiece, the authenticity of which has been called into question entirely without reason, must be dated about 1445.

17. (Plate 36) *Sts. Margaret and Apollonia*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 534c (51.5 × 27.5). The right shutter of a triptych, on the other shutter of which St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist were represented, as shown in the copy. Well-preserved, except for a large defect near the bottom of St. Apollonia's robe. The unusual tone quality is owing to a heavy coat of varnish. Presumably done about 1445. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 37) Faithful copy of this shutter and its counterpart, Heugel collection, Paris (51 × 26 each), No. 97 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. • Now in the B. Dierckx de Casterlé collection, Brussels.

18. (Plate 38) *The Exhumation of St. Hubert*. National Gallery, London, No. 783 1271 (90 × 81). Imperfectly preserved, some heads, in particular, overpainted. Almost everywhere erroneously attributed to an imitator. In my opinion, an excellent original from the time around 1450. A drawing after this painting is in the Königs collection, Amsterdam, reproduced in *Handzeichnungen Berühmter Meister aus der Weigelschen Kunstsammlung*, Leipzig, 1854-1861, Pl. xxxi. • This drawing is now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Plate 37A).

19. (Plate 39) *The Dream of Pope Sergius and the Episcopal Consecration of St. Hubert in*

Rome. Friedsam collection, New York (previously in the collection of Lord Taunton in England—90 × 81). Immaculately preserved. Erroneously identified with the legend of St. Gregory, this panel, judging from its dimensions a counterpart to the one in the National Gallery, is readily seen to deal with the legend of St. Hubert. This saint went to Rome and came to know the pope. When St. Lambert died in Liège, this event was communicated to the pope in a vision by an angel, and the pope then appointed St. Hubert bishop of Liège. The altarpiece, of which these panels formed part, presumably stood in the church of St. Peter at Liège 1281. (For details of the legend, cf. Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. 6, p. 322.) In the background of this panel is a view of Rome with the old church of St. Peter. o Not in the Friedsam collection, but in the Schiff collection, New York. • Now in the von Pannwitz collection, Brazil and New York.

A copy of the angel appears in the triptych of the Last Supper in the Bruges Seminary (No. 42 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902). I attribute this painting to the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, who worked about 1470, under Rogier's influence 1291.

20. (Plate 40) *The Lamentation*. Collection of the Earl of Powis, London (35 × 44). Left, St. Jerome with the donor; right, a holy monk. The central group is a variant of the composition in the Granada altarpiece. It is by far the best specimen of this composition (301) and an excellent original, dating from about 1450. (No. 9 at the Guildhall exhibition, London, 1906.) • Now in the National Gallery, London, No. 6265.

a. (Plate 41) Brussels museum, No. 516 (31 × 46). Pallavicini-Grimaldi auction, Genoa, 1899. With St. John and the Magdalene. No. 25 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (Pl. 11 in the memorial volume). Disfigured with varnish, warm coloration. Good workshop replica.

b. (Plate 41) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 526a (46 × 33). A figure of a donor inserted, with St. John. By a competent follower. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

c. Private collection, Naples (?), faithful copy after b.

d. (Plate 41) Palacio de los Duques de Mandas (55 × 47), precisely like c, with the same donor, rounded at the top. Reproduced in *Bellas Artes*, Madrid, Vol. 12, No. 164, p. 3. o Now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid. • No. 2510; 47 × 35 cm.

21. (Plate 42) *The Virgin with Four Saints*. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 100 (53 × 38). Originally from Pisa, and rightly called the Medici Madonna (cf. p. 15, above). Arguments A.J. Wauters cites in support of his view that the panel was a Louvain commission (*Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 22, p. 230) are not convincing. The composition itself, moreover, constitutes a strong argument for the panel having been done in Italy, i.e. about 1450. The picture in the Cook collection (122) is not properly a copy. Wauters associates the donation with the founding of the university in Louvain, declaring the sainted physicians to represent the patrons of the medical faculty, and relating the escutcheon to a Louvain family named Gheylensone, who bore the fleur-de-lis. His dating, around 1425, is implausible.

22. (Plate 43) *The Lamentation before the Tomb*. Uffizi, Florence (111 × 95). On the question whether this painting is identical with an altarpiece Fazio saw in Ferrara, with an *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* on the shutters, cf. p. 14-15, above. On whether the composition is derived from Fra Angelico, cf. K. W. Jähnig, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 53, p. 171. A. Goldschmidt has called attention to the fact that Michelangelo apparently knew this composition (*Berichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, Vol. 8, 1904, p. 56 ff.). The panel was probably done in 1450, while Rogier was in Italy 1311.

23. (Plate 44) *Portrait of Lionello d'Este*. Friedsam collection, New York (38 × 25), from the collections of Sir A. Neeld and Sir Edgar Speyer, London. On a white ground, holding a hammer in his right hand 1321. On the reverse, the arms of Lionello († 1450), with the initials *m-e* (Marchio Estensis) *voir tout*, below: *francisque* (added later: *Non plus Courselles*). Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 18, pp. 200 and 235, with notes by R. Fry and A. van de Put. The hands are curiously weak. Done about 1450. o Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. • No. 32.100.43.

24. (Plate 44) *A Group of Men, Fragment from an Adoration of the Magi*. Ad. Schloss collection, Paris (48.5 × 31.4), reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 38, 1907, p. 180. The types are entirely Rogierian, the man placing his hands on the sword grip resembling the male portrait in Antwerp (44), while the one putting hands on his shoulders looks like one of the sainted physicians in the Medici Madonna. The drawing is a bit heavy-handed, possibly only a workshop product. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, No. 7.016.

25. (Plate 45) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Escorial (320 × 190?). Brought to the Escorial in 1574 by Philip II from the monastery of Scheut near Brussels (Justi, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1886, p. 96). The inventory of 1574, in which the picture is described, mentions Rogier as the painter, *la Cartuja de Brussellas* as the place of origin. Rogier donated money and paintings to the monastery, which was established in 1450 (Pinchart, *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art*, 1867, p. 452). If this provenance can be accepted, 1450 would be the earliest date for the picture, which is hard to analyze stylistically, on account of its poor state of preservation 1331. The composition is unusually grandiose. Reproduced in Burger, *Roger van der Weyden*, Leipzig, 1923, Nos. 35, 36. • 326 × 193 cm; No. 128. In the Sala de Honor.

a. Escorial, on either side of a crucifix attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, the figures of the Virgin and St. John, a 16th century copy.

26. (Plates 46-48) *Triptych with Christ between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist in the Centre, St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene on the Shutters, all at Half-Length*. Louvre (34 × 62-27). Acquired in 1913. Formerly owned by the Duke of Westminster, then by Lady Theodora Guest, Inwood House. For further details on provenance, cf. Weale, *Le Beffroi*, Vol. 1, p. 61 ff. On the poorly preserved outside are the arms of the donors and the names *Bracque et Braban*. Cf. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 10, 1913, p. 257 ff., where the donation is plausibly dated about 1451, since

Jean de Bracque married Catherine de Brabant only just before 1451 and died very soon, on 25th June 1452. Reproduction, Arundel Club, III, 1906. Two drawings of the Magdalene in the British Museum (reproduction, Vasari Society, II, 1906, 1907, Nos. 18, 19—cf. p. 48-49, above and Plate 48). A masterpiece, immaculately preserved (cf. p. 15, 19, above).

66 a. Renders collection, Bruges, a faithful replica of the Magdalene. • Present location unknown.

27. (Plate 49) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Ryerson collection, Chicago, from the Mathys collection, Brussels. No. 28 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902, reproduced as Pl. 13 in my publication on this exhibition. Like the closely related Madonna in the Renders collection (29), associated with the St. Luke Madonna (cf. p. 23, above). • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago. • No. 33.1052 (Ryerson Collection). 38.5 × 28.3 cm.

28. (Plate 51) *Portrait of Jean de Gros*. Ryerson collection, Chicago, from the collections of Dr. de Meyer, Bruges, and R. Kann, Paris (reproduced in the catalogue of the Kann gallery). Subject's arms on the reverse side. Cf. Hulin, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 44, p. 186, where this excellent portrait, done about 1450, judging from its style, is associated with the Madonna panel in the Renders collection, Bruges (29), which also bears the de Gros family arms on the reverse (cf. p. 24). • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago. • No. 33.1051 (Ryerson Collection). 38.5 × 28.6 cm.

29. (Plate 50) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Renders collection, Bruges (36 × 27). • Now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

29A. (Plate 55) *Portrait of a Woman*. Dessau Castle (formerly, Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz). No. 108 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (36.5 × 27). Particularly characteristic. About 1455. • Now in the Mellon Foundation, Washington. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Mellon Collection, No. 44).

30. (Plate 53) *Portrait of Laurent Froimont* 1341. Brussels museum (formerly, Academy, Venice—49 × 31.5). On the reverse, arms, scraped out, and the figure of St. Lawrence. On the face, *Froimont* (name?), and *raison l'enseigne*. Cf. Hulin, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 44, p. 186, where the next-listed Madonna panel is very properly associated with this excellent portrait.

31. (Plate 52) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Mancel collection, Caen (Calvados), (49 × 31—cf. p. 23-24, above). About 1460. • Now in the City Collections, Mancel Collection, Caen.

32. (Plate 54) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Dr. Wendland, Basle, from the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin (No. 67 at the auction of 1917). • Now in Lugano, Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza). • No. 456. 32 × 26 cm.

33. (Plate 56) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Cardon collection, Brussels (present where-

abouts uncertain— 36×27). No. 27 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Photo Bruckmann. Much restored. About 1450 (cf. p. 26, above). • Now in The Clowes Fund, Indianapolis, 35×25 cm.

34. (Plate 56) *Portrait of a Woman*. National Gallery, London, No. 1433 (35.6×26.6), from the Beurnonville collection, Paris, and the Lyne Stephens collection [35] Winkler states erroneously (p. 169) that I attribute this portrait to the Master of Flémalle. About 1460.

35. (Plate 57) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Amsterdam art market (P. Cassirer, 1924— 31.5×22.5), formerly privately owned in Hungary (cf. p. 23, 24, above). • Hess collection, Berlin, subsequently in a private collection in America. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts (E. and P. S. Straus collection), Houston, Acc. No. 44-535; 30×20.7 cm.

a. Sigmaringen museum, a mediocre copy, reproduced in the museum's old catalogue, No. 38 (28×20). From the Weyer collection (No. 212).

Memling was influenced by the composition in his Madonna in the collection of Lady Wernher, London 1361.

36. (Plate 21) *Two Fragments from a Nativity*. Heads of the Virgin and Joseph. Onnes auction, Amsterdam, 1923, No. 23. Subsequently on sale in London. Formerly L. Nardus collection, Suresnes (20×17 each). Excellently preserved and of great subtlety. About 1460 [37]. • Now with the Knoedler Gallery, New York. • Now in the Foundation Calouste Gulbenkian, Oeiras (Portugal), Nos. 79A (female saint) and 79B (St. Joseph).

37. (Plate 58) *Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece Holding an Arrow*. Brussels museum, No. 190 (37×27). Formerly wrongly identified as Charles the Bold, more recently as Anthony of Burgundy 1381. About 1460.

38. (Plates 59-61) *The Bladelin Altarpiece*. Centre, *The Nativity*; left, *The Tiburtine Sibyl*; right, *The Three Kings of Orient, Following the Star*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 535 ($91 \times 89-40$). The donor shown on the centre panel is the treasurer to the Burgundian duke, Peter Bladelin, who founded Middelburg 1391, where a copy is preserved, and where Nieuwenhuys acquired the altarpiece. An *Annunciation* on the outside is crude journeyman work. The altarpiece is immaculately preserved. For its dating, cf. p. 20, above. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. A copy of the centre panel, on sale in New York (Ehrich, 1912— 33.5×25). Adoring shepherds in place of the donor.

b. A copy of the centre panel, No. 5 at the Weber auction, Hamburg, 1912 (42×35). An adoring shepherd in place of the donor. • Now in the Thomée collection, Altena.

39. (Plate 63) *Portrait of Philip de Croy*. Ertborn collection, Antwerp, No. 254 (99×31). One-half of a diptych, the counterpart being the Madonna in the Huntington

collection (40). The arms on the reverse are reproduced in the publication on the Toison d'Or exhibition (van Oest), Pl. 9 1x. The corresponding text discourses at length on the subject of the portrait and its presumptive time of origin. Hulin's main argument for associating the portrait with the Madonna is the prayer book, with which the child is toying so conspicuously. Philip was a great connoisseur of books. Cf. Hulin, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 53 ff. Painted around 1459. • 49 × 30 cm.

A copy at Le Roeulx Castle, according to Pol de Mont (cf. Winkler, p. 156).

40. (Plate 62) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Huntington collection, New York (49 × 31) 1401, formerly Willett collection, Brighton; R. Kann collection, Paris. A counter-argument against the association with the Croy portrait would be the gold ground on the Madonna panel, which is not continued in the portrait. By style alone, I would be inclined to date the Madonna earlier. • Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino (California).

40A. (Plate 64) *The Holy Family with St. Paul and a Donor*. The child grasps a cross, which is held by a flying angel. Crespi collection, Milan (No. 96 at the Paris auction of 1914), for sale in Rome, 1924 (57 × 47). Sharply overcleaned and restored. An excellent original from the time around 1460. Originally in the Guicciardi collection, Milan. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Friedsam collection). • No. 32.100.44.

The motive of the child clasping the cross is repeated:

a. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 321, identical with the painting sold at an Amsterdam auction of 27th February 1900, No. 943 (76 × 59). The Virgin holds a book in her right hand. Gold ground.

b. (Plate 64) Traumann collection, Madrid. The Virgin's hand is at her bare breast. Mediocre, but the types are still Rogierian. • In 1953, in the J. M. Orue collection, Madrid; 37.2 × 26.5 cm.

41. (Plate 64) *Christ Appearing to His Mother*. New York art market (Duveen Bros. — 160 × 91). This important panel, which reached the English art trade from Spain, must probably be considered an original by Rogier's hand. Certain troublesome traits, especially in the head of Christ, are attributable to a restorer. Cf. Weale, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 16, p. 159 [41]. • Now in the Mellon Foundation, Washington. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Mellon collection, No. 45).

42. (Plate 65) *Portrait of Charles the Bold*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 545 (49 × 52). Possibly identical with the *tableau du chef du duc Charles, ayeul de Madame fait par la main de Rogier*, named in the 1516 inventory of Margaret of Austria's art treasures (le Glay, *Maximilien I et Marguerite d'Autriche*). Probably done after rather than before 1460—the prince was born in 1433. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

43. (Plate 68) *Madonna at Half-Length*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 549a

(42 × 31). Indirectly derived from the St. Luke Madonna (the left hands of mother and child are exactly the same as in that panel). If this painting is by the master's own hand, which cannot be regarded as entirely certain, it must have been done about 1460 (cf. p. 23, above). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

44. (Plate 65) *Portrait of a Man*. Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, No. 539 1421 (71 × 50). No. 47 at the Paris exhibition of 1904 (*Primitifs Français*). Reproduced as Pl. XXXVII in the publication on this exhibition. On the clockwork, the motto *tant que je vive autre n'auray*. This is the motto of Philip the Good, who cannot be the subject, however 1431. The Trasignies family is also said to have used this motto. Although this portrait has been widely questioned, it is in my view a work by Rogier, done about 1460.

45. (Plate 65) *Portrait of a Man*. W. Samuel collection, London (19 × 14). About 1460. Erroneously listed as being in the Dreicer collection, New York, in my book, *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury.

46. (Plate 68) *The Lamentation*. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 264 (78 × 129). According to Weale (*Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1901, p. 124) the donor is Nicolas de Ruistre (Bishop of Utrecht in 1501, died in 1509), who is supposed to have donated the panel in Louvain early in the 16th century. This dating is quite implausible 1441. The doubts voiced indiscriminately on every hand in respect of this picture are unjustified. It is a well-preserved masterpiece from the time around 1460.

47. (Plates 66, 67) *The so-called Cambrai Altarpiece*. Centre, *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John*; left, *The Last Judgment*; right, *The Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*; outside, in grisaille, *The Tribute Money*. Prado, Madrid, 1881-1892 (195 × 172-77). From the Convento de los Angeles at Madrid. Presumably identical with the altarpiece ordered from Rogier in 1455 by Jean Robert, abbot of St. Aubert at Cambrai, and completed in 1459. Described by de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Vol. 2, 1, documents, LIX (cf. p. 14, above). Workshop execution.

48. (Plate 69) *The Annunciation*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (113 × 83), from the Ashburnham, R. Kann and P. Morgan collections. From the arms, a donation by a member of the Clugny family, prominent in Tournai. Ferry Clugny became bishop of Tournai in 1474. His brother Guillaume is another possibility. Cf. Weale, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 7, p. 140ff. An important, well-preserved work by Rogier 1451, very late, judging from the style. • No. 17. 190.7; 186 × 115 cm.

49. (Plates 70-72) *The St. Columba Altarpiece*. Centre, *The Adoration of the Magi*; left, *The Annunciation*; right, *The Presentation*. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 101-103 (138 × 153-70). Much restored 1461. Entered the Boisserée collection from the chapel founded by Goddert von den Wasservas in the church of St. Columba in Cologne. Utilized by a Cologne painter as early as the 15th century (stained glass in

Cologne cathedral (Plate 70)). A late dating for this work is supported particularly by its relationship with the work of Memling, who repeatedly employed the composition of the centre panel. The style is close to that of Memling. The altarpiece was probably done at the time when Memling worked in Rogier's studio (about 1462) (1471). The town in the background of the centre panel agrees in part with the putative town of Middelburg in the Bladelin altarpiece. • Inv. No. WAF. 1189.

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF FLÉMALLE AND JACQUES DARET

50. (Plate 73) *The Madonna of the Grassy Nook*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1,835 (38 × 26), from the von Kaufmann collection, No. 68 in the Berlin auction of 1917. Winkler (p. 16) describes it as an apprentice work. Possibly an early work by the master (about 1425). Cf. p. 43, above. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

51. (Plate 74) *The Betrothal of the Virgin*. Two representations, side by side. Left, *The Miracle of the Rod* (by which Joseph was selected); right, *The Betrothal* (the actual ceremony). On the reverse, two saints in grisaille, St. James the Elder and a female saint holding a monstrance (St. Clare?). Prado, Madrid, No. 1,817a (78 × 90). • 76.5 × 88 cm.

52. (Plate 75) *The Annunciation*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1,853 (76 × 70). Counterpart (?) to 51, as the other half of a diptych, probably somewhat reduced in size (48). Both panels come from the Escorial. Winkler (p. 12) judges this Annunciation severely, upon comparing it with the centrepiece of the Merode altarpiece; and indeed the Virgins in these two paintings agree like copies. • 76.5 × 70.2 cm.

53. (Plate 76) *The Nativity*. Dijon museum, No. 150 (87 × 70). Reproduced in Bouchot, catalogue of the *Primitifs Français* exhibition, Pl. xxvi, No. 32. The figure of the midwife, seen from the back, was taken over by the Master of Frankfurt into his major altarpiece in the Frankfurt museum (cf. Winkler, Pl. v) (491).

54. (Plates 77-79) *A Triptych with the Annunciation in the Centre*; left, the two donors; right, *Joseph in His Workshop*. Westerloo-Tongerloo, collection of the Comtesse de Merode (61 × 64-26). No. 180 (50) in the Bruges exhibition of 1907. On the donors, identified from the armorial bearings, and on the dating (about 1428), cf. p. 36-38, above (511). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cloisters), New York, 64.1 × 63.2 × 27.3 cm.

a. (Plate 77) Cassel museum, No. 2 (63 × 64). A copy of the centre panel.

b. (Plate 80) Brussels museum, No. 785 (61 × 63). A free copy of the centre panel, probably done in the master's studio, judging from the style. Much restored. Reproduced in Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture au Musée de Bruxelles*, 1923, Pl. iv.

c. (Plate 77) University library, Erlangen. Drawing, copied after the centre panel. Reproduced in von Tschudi, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 19, p. 12.

55. (Plates 82, 83) *Two Portraits*. The man with a head covering like a turban, the woman in a white hood. National Gallery, London, No. 653 (40 × 27 each), cf. p. 41, above.

56. (Plate 81) *Christ Giving the Blessing and the Virgin at Prayer, Side by Side*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 332 (Valentiner's catalogue, 11—30 × 42.5). Much overpainting of the head of Christ.

57. (Plate 84) *A Sibyl at Half-Length*. Art trade, Paris (Wildenstein, 1922), No. 143 at the Cernuschi auction of 1900 (49.5 × 35). • Now in the Dumbarton Oaks Foundation, Washington.

a. Verona museum. A mediocre copy.

58. (Plate 85) *The Virgin and Child in a Room before a Fire-Screen*. National Gallery, London, No. 2,609 (63 × 48). No. 23 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. From the Somzée collection, Brussels, and the Salting collection, London. A rather wide strip has been added on the right, and the cupboard and chalice are not genuine. Otherwise well-preserved (cf. p. 40, above).

59. *A Triptych with the Descent from the Cross*. The work as a whole is preserved only in copies. A fragment of the original righthand shutter, showing the dying, repentant Thief (Plate 87), is in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 105 (33 × 91). • 133 × 92 cm.

a. (Plate 86) Royal Institution, Liverpool, No. 39 (60 × 60.5—26.5). No. 22 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902, Pl. 15 in my work on the exhibition. On the right shutter the arms of Bruges, on the reverse sides St. John the Baptist and St. Julian. From this copy and the surviving fragment of the original, the dimensions of the original can be calculated as about 210 cm in width and 190 cm in height, for the centre panel. This copy allegedly comes from the hospital of St. Julian in Bruges.

Hulin (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1911) shows that a prayer book of Prince d'Arenberg, apparently made in 1430 (Plate 86A), contains a free copy of the *Descent* and dates the original accordingly before 1430.

b. E. Schweitzer collection, Berlin, No. 51 in the auction of 1918 (74 × 55). The *Descent*, with several figures from the centre panel, in tall format, rounded at the top.

c. Church of St. Sauveur, Bruges, No. 120 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (142 × 225), reproduced as Pl. 55 in my work on the exhibition 1521. Dated 1500. Several figures from the triptych, including the two Thieves, the Virgin and St. John, have been taken over in this *Crucifixion* by a competent Bruges painter, who is identifiable in other works as well.

60. (Plates 88, 89) *Three Panels from an Altarpiece, allegedly from the Abbey of Flémalle near Liège*. *The Virgin*, at full-length, *St. Veronica*, and *The Trinity*, in grisaille. On the reverse of the Madonna a poorly done *Mater Dolorosa*. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Nos. 102-104 (144 × 53 each—cf. p. 40-41, above). A faithful

and excellent drawing of the *St. Veronica* is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Plate 89A) (reproduced in Vasari Society, II, 21).

a. (Plate 89) Lázaro collection, Madrid, *The Virgin*, at half-length. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

b. Collection of Professor Lanz, Amsterdam, *The Virgin*, at half-length (rounded at the top).

61. (Plate 90) *Portrait of a Fat Man*. The head alone, against a white ground and tightly framed. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 537a (18.5 × 17.5). Acquired in 1901 at the auction of Sir Hope Edwards. About 1430 (cf. p. 41-42, above). In the Berlin catalogue, it is conjectured that the subject is Niccolò Strozzi, because of a resemblance to a bust by Mino da Fiesole in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum 1531. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, 28.5 × 17.5 cm.

62. (Plate 91) *Portrait of a Man*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 537 (37 × 30). Reproduced in von Tschudi, *loc. cit.*, p. 95. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

63. (Plate 91) *Portrait of a Man*. Lucerne, No. 6 in the Chillingworth auction of 1922 (34 × 24), from the Gumprecht collection, Berlin (No. 11 at the auction of 1918). Slightly overcleaned. The symbols on the headgear point to a musician. • Now in the J. E. Magnin collection, New York. • Now in the collection of Mrs. John Magnin, New York.

64. (Plate 93) *The Virgin by the Fireplace*. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg, No. 448 (36 × 25) 1541.

65. (Plate 92) *The Holy Trinity*. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg, No. 447 (36 × 25) 1551. The posture of Jesus, supported by the Almighty, was frequently repeated, for example in a drawing at Oxford (Plate 99B; reproduced in Vasari Society, VIII), done by an immediate follower of Rogier (cf. also 71).

66. (Plate 94) *The Virgin Enthroned in Heaven with Sts. Peter and Augustine and an Abbot as Donor*. Aix-en-Provence (48 × 21). No. 30 in Paris exhibition of 1904 (*Primitifs Français*). • In the Musée Granet, No. 300.

a. Douai museum, from the church of St. Bertin in St. Omer. Hulin conjectures that the original was done for the abbey of Eaucourt (Artois) in the time of abbot Pierre l'Escuyer (cf. the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, p. XLV).

67. (Plates 96, 97) *Two Altarpiece Shutters, St. Barbara Seated within a Chamber, and the Donor with St. John the Baptist*. Prado, Madrid, Nos. 1,352, 1,353 (101 × 47 each). A donation of the Cologne professor, Heinrich von Werl, dating from 1438. On the matter of the traces on the reverse of one of the shutters, cf. von Tschudi, *loc. cit.*, p. 20 ff. The inscription along the bottom of the donor shutter reads: *Anno milleno centum quater decem ter et octo hic fecit effigiem...depingi minister henricus*

Werlis magister coloniensis (cf. p. 38-39, above). • Nos. 1513 and 1514 in the 1963 catalogue.

73

68. (Plate 95) *Christ on the Cross with the Mourners*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 538 a (77 × 47), from the Hulot collection, Paris (1892). A gold ground shines through the cloudy sky and the flying angels—landscape, sky and angels were probably added soon afterwards, but not by the master. On authorship, Christ type and dating, cf. p. 43, above. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

69. (Plate 98) *Portraits of Bartholomew Alatrue and His Wife Marie Pacy*. Brussels museum, Nos. 43, 74 (44 × 32 each). At the edge, the motto *Bien faire Daint* is repeated. Oddly enough, both portraits are painted over armorial bearings, to which inscriptions on the lower frame refer—*A° 1425 les armes de jehenne cambré—A° 1425 les armes du jehan barrat*. Peculiar in more than one respect, the woman, especially, very weak. Possibly old copies.

70. *Madonna*. At bust-length, in tondo, agreeing with the Madonna in the Flémalle altarpiece, although differing in the position of one of the child's hands, which rests on the bare breast of the Virgin. The source of these copies may have been a prototype by the Master of Flémalle (cf. Winkler, p. 21).

Of many specimens, I mention:

a. (Plate 98) Friedsam collection, New York, tondo, No. 7 in the Cardon auction, 1921 (561). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Friedsam collection). No. 32.100.59, painted surface: 17.2 cm.

b. (Plate 98) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 331. • Including frame: 26.9 cm.

71. *The Almighty with the Body of Christ and Four Angels*.

a. (Plate 99) Louvain museum (124 × 90), No. 206 in the Brussels exhibition of 1902.

b. Brussels museum, No. 592 (92 × 76), mediocre copy.

c. (Plate 8) Church of St. Peter, Louvain, outside of the Edelheer altarpiece.

Von Tschudi accepts a as the original. Colijn de Coter took over this composition with complete fidelity in his triptych in the Louvre 1571, while Coffermans made another copy (private collection, Madrid). On the continuing occurrence of this motive, formulated similarly by the Master of Flémalle in his paintings at St. Petersburg and Frankfurt, cf. von Tschudi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16, 99. In a drawing by a student of Rogier (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Plate 99b), the posture of the dead Saviour is repeated (reproduced in Vasari Society, VIII, 15-18). This drawing was utilized for the design in the embroidered medallion of a cope in the Berne museum (Plate 99a) (cf. Winkler, p. 46 f.). The dead body of Christ is entirely as in the antependium belonging to the embroideries of the Order of the Golden Fleece (reproduced in Schlosser, *Paramentenschatz*, Pl. 2) (Plate 99c).

72. *Madonna with Saints and Donors.*

a. (Plate 100) Louvre, drawing, cf. Hulin, *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, p. xxxvi (reproduced in Winkler, Pl. 2). Very probably a copy, in which the master's style is clearly preserved, however.

74

73. *The Mass of Pope Gregory.*

a. (Plate 100) Berlin, No. 6 in the Weber auction, Hamburg, 1912 (83.5 × 71), cf. Woermann's remarks in the catalogue of the Weber collection. Dated, at bottom right, M^{VC}. X (last numeral smudged). The style does not accord with so late a date. No. 156 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 182 in that of 1907. o Now [1937] in the O. Kling collection, Stockholm. • Now in the Acquavella Gallery, New York.

b. J. Moreira collection, Lisbon, faithful replica, cf. Moreira, *Un Problème de l'Art, l'École Portugaise Créatrice des Grandes Écoles*.

Both replicas probably go back to an original from the hand of the Master of Flémalle 1581.

74. *The Virgin in the Apse.* At full-length, an angel on either side. This composition, preserved in many replicas 1591, has been attributed to the master for good and sufficient reasons. No superior specimen that might be considered the original is known to me. Among the large series of copies (of which I enumerate by no means all that have become known), those come closest to the original, in which the architectural perspective is so constructed that the apse seems flat in effect and is seen as though from above. Apparently, the deepening of the apse, by means of better perspective and a viewpoint from below, constitutes a later reworking.

a. (Plate 101) Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 65 (disposed of by exchange in 1923, subsequently for sale in Lucerne—45 × 32). o Now [1937] in the Institute of Arts, Minneapolis [erroneously indicated as 74b in Suppl. Vol. XIV]. • Now in the Julius Weitzner Gallery, New York.

b. Coray Stoop collection, Zurich (1922—52 × 41). The figures have more space than in a. • Erroneously indicated as in Minneapolis in Suppl. Vol. XIV. In 1939, in a private collection, Berlin.

c. (Plate 101) Metropolitan Museum, New York (45 × 34), from the Robinson collection, London (*Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 7, p. 238). Reproduced in Winkler, Pl. III. • No. 05.39.2.

d. Albert Bossy collection, Paris, reproduced in *Les Arts*, November 1904, p. 16 (601). • Collection of the late Baronne Gendebien, Brussels; 56 × 44 cm.

e. Sigmaringen museum, No. 19 (48 × 31), from the Abel collection. The hem of the Virgin's robe has a wide decoration. o Auction of June 1937, Munich, from the Berlin museums. • Auction at Sotheby's, London, on 4th April, 1962, No. 32.

f. National Gallery, London (Salting Bequest), No. 2,608 (57 × 44). o Same as 74g.

g. Paris, F. Ravaisson-Mollien auction, 1903 (54 × 44), rounded at the top. o Same as 74 f.

h. (Plate 101) Paris, No. 58 in the Richtenberger auction, 1921 (44 × 29), rounded at the top. • Now in a private collection, Loppem (Belgium).

i. Collection of Privy Councillor W. Müller, Berlin. Flower vases and animals on the ground are added. • Probably identical with the painting now in the Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (49 × 35 cm).

• j. Missing in the original edition.

k. New York art market, centrepiece of a triptych, with arbitrarily added shutters. The apse appears in better perspective with the effect of depth enhanced. Much more space above the figures. • Now in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 458; 47.8 × 34.7 cm.

l. Mann collection, Glasgow, No. 89 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. The apse in the archaic form, the angels distributed on the shutters. A reworking in triptych form. • Auction at Sotheby's, London, on 3rd July, 1929, No. 30; bought by D. Croal Thompson; present location unknown.

m. Episcopal collection, Chur. In every way like l.

Early in the 16th century, this composition was modified, with five angels behind a low wall, instead of two angels, on either side of the Virgin. In this form it was employed by Bernard van Orley (e.g. Prado, Madrid 1611; Oldenburg museum 1621) 1631. No. 39, at the auction of the Marquis de Victoire de Heredia, in 1912, is an inferior copy 1641. Gerard David also used this composition (London art market, 1923. • Now in the Epstein collection, Chicago) 1651.

The best idea of what the original was like is conveyed by the copy that was in Nuremberg. Here one gets an inkling of the chiaroscuro effect, the luminosity of the white robe, the grandiose flow of the drapery, the archaic serenity of the composition and its main figure, who seems almost disembodied beneath her robes. The association between mother and child is Eyckian in character. Insofar as the copies convey a proper picture of the original, I should guess that the *Virgin in the Apsse* was done about 1428, about the same time as the panel at Dijon.

75. *The Vengeance of Tomyris*

a. (Plate 102) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 537a (canvas, 176 × 176), mediocre execution, dating from about 1480, evidently a copy after the master. • Destroyed during the siege of Berlin in 1945.

b. (Plate 102) Academy, Vienna. • Inv. No. 1293; 185 × 175 cm.

c. (Plate 102) Privately owned, Antwerp, a 16th century copy 1661. • Now in the Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings, Greenville, South Carolina.

Cf. Hulin, *Extrait du Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*, 1901, who surmises that the original may have adorned the episcopal palace in Ghent.

76. *The Adoration of the Magi*

a. (Plate 102) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 538 (49 × 41). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

Von Tschudi—in my opinion, rightly—regards this competent painting from the late 15th century as a copy after an original by the Master of Flémalle. Winkler has in mind an original by Jacques Daret (p. 13).

b. Academy, Verona, No. 156, reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*, Pl. XXXXI (167). It dates from about 1520 and shows a quite different landscape

1681. Parts of this composition appear in a painting, which is rightly regarded as a youthful work by Jacob van Amsterdam, in the archiepiscopal museum at Utrecht (reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Utrecht*, Pl. VII) 1691.

Among other copies, one was formerly in the collection of René della Faille in Antwerp, another was in 1909 on the art market in Vienna, and still another in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

77. (Plate 103) *The Death of the Virgin*. National Gallery, London, No. 658 (38 × 34). Erroneously attributed to the master by von Tschudi (*loc. cit.*, p. 27 ff.). This composition is repeated in paintings that clearly bear the character of Hugo van der Goes and presumably goes back to that painter 1701.

THE PAINTINGS OF JACQUES DARET

78. (Plate 104) *The Visitation, with the Donor, an Abbot*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 542. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

79. (Plate 104) *The Nativity*. Morgan collection, New York. Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 19, opposite p. 218. • Now in Castagnola, Schloss Ronch Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza).

80. (Plate 105) *The Presentation*. Tuck collection, Petit Palais, Paris, formerly Hainauer collection, Berlin. Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 15, opposite p. 202.

81. (Plate 105) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 527. The head of the youngest king is overpainted. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

These four equal-sized (57 × 52) panels belong to an altarpiece, which Daret did in 1434 for Jean du Clercq, abbot of St. Vaast in Arras (cf. p. 34-35, above).

82. (Plate 103) *The Legend of St. Joseph*. Church, Hoogstraeten, Belgium (64 × 203). No. 341 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Photo Bruckmann. A very archaic work, with gold ground, certainly not a copy (as Hulin suggests in the *Catalogue Critique*), but rather the work of a master close to Jacques Daret and particularly associated with the style of book illumination.

CATALOGUE C: IMITATIONS AND COPIES AFTER ROGIER

83. (Plate 106) *The Presentation of the Virgin*. Painted framework, with two further episodes from the life of the Virgin on each side 1711. Salas Capitulares, Escorial (160 × 100?). Good workshop product, similar to the Cambrai altarpiece 1721.

Somewhat pale in treatment. The female type, with the space between mouth and nose a little swollen in appearance, recurs repeatedly in later workshop products, e.g. in the *Virgin with Four Saints* in the Cook collection (122). • 145 × 100 cm; No. 330. In the apartment of Philip II.

84. (Plate 106) *The Betrothal of the Virgin*. Antwerp cathedral. Composed similarly to the panel by the Master of Flémalle in the Prado (51). On the left, in the church, Joseph with his flowering rod, leaving the circle of the suitors; on the right, outside the church, the betrothal ceremony. By a competent follower of Rogier, around 1450. Many characteristic, portraitlike heads. The lighting has a flickering quality.

85. (Plate 106) *The Presentation*. Czernin collection, Vienna, No. 27, credited to Jan van Eyck. The composition, into which two youthful female portrait figures have been inserted, is in part influenced by the right shutter of the St. Columba altarpiece (49). This excellent follower (about 1470) diverges a little from Rogier by his gentle and rather phlegmatic approach; he developed in parallel with Memling 1731. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Kress collection), 59.8 × 48.3 cm.

86. (Plate 114) *Jesus with the Kneeling St. John the Baptist*; *Jesus at the House of Martha*. W. Samuel collection, London (66 × 42 each). These panels, of striking simplicity and dignity, are close to the master himself. A little smooth, elegiac, with long and slightly vacuous faces. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury.

87. (Plate 107) *Jesus Shown to the People*. In grisaille, on the outsides of two altarpiece shutters. Church of S. Ansano, near Florence. Workshop product (1460) 1741. • Now belonging to the Chapter of the Fiesole cathedral; on loan to the Bandini Museum, Fiesole.

a. (Plate 107) Florence art market (Bardini 1913). Workshop product (1460), the composition in faithful agreement. Related to the outsides of the Cambrai altarpiece 1751. • Now in the Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings. Greenville, South Carolina; 92.5 × 27.5 cm.

88. (Plate 107) *The Crucifixion*. With many figures, one-half of a diptych, on the other half of which are represented the female donor, St. John the Baptist, an angel with an escutcheon, and the Virgin on a crescent moon. Musée Condé, Chantilly (34 × 22 each, terminating in pointed arches above). Reproduced and described in greater detail in F. A. Gruyer, *La Peinture au Château de Chantilly*, Paris, 1896, *Écoles Étrangères*, p. 208 ff. According to the arms, the donor was Jeanne de France, fourth daughter of Charles VII, born about 1435. She seems to have commissioned this small altarpiece about 1460. From the style, it is by an immediate follower of Rogier, if indeed it was not done in his studio. In type and quality similar to the Sforza triptych (93).

89. (Plate 108) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Provincial museum,

Bonn, No. 520 (Wesendonk collection— 35×23.5). A rather mild work by a follower, not done in Rogier's studio. The scheme of the landscape is as in Rogier's crucifixions, but the types are different. About 1470.

78

90. (Plate 108) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene*. Dresden museum, No. 800 (32.5×20.5). Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St. John agree precisely with the corresponding figures in the Vienna triptych (11), while the Magdalene is taken, with slight modifications, from the panel in the Escorial. A competent workshop product of fairly early date.

91. (Plate 108) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John, a Female Mourner, a Two Other Female Mourners*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1,886 (47×31), with a spurious Dürer monogram and the date of 1513. The Magdalene is taken from the Escorial panel, with the same modifications as in the Dresden picture (90). Prototypes of the other figures are not demonstrable, but they are done in the Rogierian spirit. This excellent painting was done about 1500, in a semi-archaic style, delicate and gentle in line and sentimental in conception.

92. (Plate 108) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John, a Female Mourner, a Donor, and a Group of Soldiers*. New York Historical Society. The Christ on the Cross follows Rogier faithfully, but the remainder of the painting is without known derivation. A sturdy piece of work by a relatively independent follower. About 1450. • Acc. No. 1867.116; 38×36.8 cm.

93. (Plate 109) *The Sforza Altarpiece*. Centre, Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John, three donors, a man in armour, a woman, and a young man; left shutter, the Nativity, with two saints; right shutter, St. John the Baptist with two female saints; outside, Sts. Jerome and George, in grisaille. Brussels museum, No. 515 (54×46 —19.5). The arms of the Sforza appear on the centre panel. The donor Francesco Sforza (head overpainted), represented with his wife and son, dispatched the Milanese painter Zanetto Bugatto to Brussels in 1460, where Bugatto worked with Rogier for three years¹. It would seem plausible to attribute this triptych to the Italian, trained in Rogier's studio, although it shows no trace of the Italian spirit (761). The donor portraits are the most likely to have been done by Bugatto. There is little uniformity in the work, perhaps because several hands in Rogier's studio worked on it. The interior shutters are composed with a peculiar carelessness. The two female saints are reminiscent of Memling, who may very well have been with Rogier between 1460 and 1463—in other words, at the same time as Bugatto.

1. S. Reinach, *Chronique des Arts*, 1904, p. 226.

94. *The Descent from the Cross*. A composition of many figures, with the same characters as the Escorial panel, plus three angels. The Magdalenes in the two works have the same attitude.

a. (Plate 110) Drawing in the Louvre (reproduced in Winkler, Pl. xvi).

b. (Plate 110) Painting in Naples (reproduced *ibidem*), without the angels (771).

c. Klinkosch auction, Vienna, 1889 (61×100 —an etching by W. Ziegler in the catalogue), with dotted gold ground and the angels as in the drawing. • Sold in

Vienna, with the collection of Dr. Alois Spitzer, 24th January 1906, No. 142. Present location unknown.

The drawing, apparently done with much fidelity after Rogier, has a broad gap in the picture area at the top. It would appear that the original was a mural painting below and to each side of a window. One is reminded of Dürer's note, *Rudigers gemalt Capelln*. The Naples picture, with an added landscape, was done about 1500. Winkler (p. 84) traces the continuing influence of this important composition (1781).

d. (Plate 110) Strasbourg museum, No. 63 (49 × 47), with certain variations, especially different figures on the right side, reproduced in Winkler, Pl. xvii. Netherlandish, about 1500. • Inv. No. 188, Cat. (1938) No. 79; destroyed by a fire in 1947.

95. (Plate 111) *The Descent from the Cross*. With the mourners and soldiers (1791). Pinakothek, Munich, No. 104 (reserve, 57 × 52), reproduced in Winkler, Pl. xviii (who also shows a drawing in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg that includes part of this composition, as well as a painting by a Bavarian master in which another part is utilized). In style and quality, close to the so-called Cambrai altarpiece, a good workshop product of about 1460. Winkler (p. 89 ff.) posits an original, carefully tracing its influence, especially upon German painters.

96. (Plate 111) *The Descent from the Cross*. With the mourners. Paris art market (Lucas Moreno, 1924—40 × 39.5), described as by Rogier at a Munich auction of 10th December 1907 (1801). Actually by a mediocre imitator of about 1470. The composition agrees in part with the drawing (94a). • Has been in the collection Laurent Meeus, Brussels; 38.5 × 38 cm.

97. *The Descent from the Cross*. With the Virgin, St. John and Joseph of Arimathea. Jesus, in the centre, is shown to below the knees. A composition that was often repeated.

a. (Plate 112) Collection of Dr. Jurié de Lavandal, Vienna, No. 335 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (Photo Bruckmann—85 × 63). • Sold in Vienna in 1918; present location unknown.

b. (Plate 112) Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, No. 419 (62 × 47). • Not in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum since 1942; present location unknown.

c. (Plate 112) Strasbourg municipal museum, No. 56 (74 × 61). • Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, Inv. No. 126, Cat. (1938) No. 80; 81 × 67 cm.

d. (Plate 112) Church of St. Sauveur, Bruges. • Museum of the Cathedral; 60 × 46 cm.

e. Cavaliere Salvatore Arbib auction, Venice, 18th-25th May 1908, No. 569 (82 × 45).

f. Brade-Wagner auction, Lempertz, Cologne, October 1897, No. 259 (90 × 67). Ditto, auction of 29th April 1901, No. 106. With a landscape in the background—most of the other copies have a gold ground with black hatching.

g. Zélikine auction, Paris, No. 285 (56 × 42).

h. De Meulenaere collection, Brussels.

i. F. Doistau auction, Paris, 22nd-25th November 1909, No. 17 (59 × 43).

Centrepiece of a triptych, No. 124 at a Berlin auction of 22nd February 1910.

There are many other replicas, five in Bruges alone (cf. note on No. 56 in the Strasbourg catalogue). It may be concluded, therefore, that the original—by Rogier or a follower, judging from the types—was preserved in Bruges. In the work by Veth and Muller, *Dürer's Niederländische Reise* (vol. 2, p. 116), the specimen from the church of St. Sauveur is reproduced with the misleading caption: 'Fragment of a *Descent from the Cross* by Hugo van der Goes.' It is true that Dürer saw a *Descent* by Hugo in the church of St. James at Bruges, but this work cannot have been the original of our replicas, which do not point to van der Goes in any feature (1811).

98. *The Descent from the Cross*. The preceding composition evolved into another which, curiously enough, was also often copied (1821). In attitude and relation to the picture area, the body of Jesus is as in the first composition, as is Joseph of Arimathea. The Virgin, on the other hand, has been placed lower down, clasping the body of her son with both hands, and St. John has been omitted. There are a number of good repetitions of this second composition, e.g.:

a. (Plate 111) Buckingham Palace, London (private rooms) (1831).

b. (Plate 111) Sigmaringen museum. • No longer in the Sigmaringen Museum; present location unknown.

c. (Plate 111) Lázaro collection, Madrid (rounded at the top), very finely executed, from the 16th century, apparently by Quentin Massys (1841). • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

The second composition is more imaginative than the first, and shows certain signs of refinement, especially in the crossed fingers.

99. (Plate 113) *The Lamentation*. With the Virgin, St. John, and three women. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp (No. 3 in the catalogue—84 × 59). Gold ground. By a competent follower. About 1470 (1851).

100. (Plate 113) *The Resurrection*. Camberlyn d'Amougies collection, Pepinghen (39 × 16). On the reverse, St. Barbara, in grisaille. Attributed to Dieric Bouts in *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, Vol. 3, p. 154. By a competent follower (1861). • Sold at Fr. Muller's, Amsterdam, on 13th June 1926, No. 607.

101. (Plate 114) *The Last Judgment* (1871). With painted framework, showing on each side four representations of 'works of mercy.' Capilla del Milagro, Valencia. Reproduced in *Museum*, Barcelona, Vol. 2. The arrangement is similar to that in *The Presentation of the Virgin* in the Escorial (83), and in the so-called Cambrai altarpiece (1881), to which the present painting is closely related in quality and style. A good workshop product, dating from about 1460. Cf. von Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1910, p. 56, where there is a mistaken suggestion that this may be an imitation done in Spain. • Now in the Ayuntamiento (City Hall), Valencia. 206.3 × 127.5 cm.

102. (Plate 113) *The Last Judgment*. With the Wise and Foolish Virgins below.

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 600 (65 × 35). The panel is made up of two pieces. Clearly the lower part—with the Virgins—was added later. The upper part displays the late style of Rogier's studio in pure form, while the lower part was done by a rather crude imitator (1891). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

103. (Plate 115) *Two Altarpiece Shutters Painted on Both Sides*. Left, *The Crucifixion of St. Peter*, with a donor; right, *St. Anthony*, with a female donor; reverse, *The Annunciation*. Dated 1451 on the frame of the Angel of the Annunciation. Paris art market, 1924 (115 × 78 each). By a competent, sturdy follower of Rogier. Important on account of the date. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Friedsam collection) Nos. 32.100.108—32.100.111.

104. (Plate 106) *St. John the Baptist*. At bust-length, his right hand in an oratorical gesture, against a ground of light brocade. Paris art market (Bourgeois, 1914). The work of a competent follower (1470). • For a while with Mme. Jos. Fiévez, Brussels. Present location unknown; 38 × 29.5 cm.

105. (Plates 116, 117) *Four Large Painted Altarpiece Shutters and Two Smaller Ones, with Donors and Saints*. Wings of a carved centrepiece. Ambierle near Roanne (France). Reproduced in *Gazette Archéologique*, Vol. 11, 1886, p. 221. A donation by Michel de Chaugy, who is represented with his wife and parents. Chaugy, who was in the service of Philip the Good, had the altarpiece done in Brussels between 1460 and 1463 (1901). Von Tschudi, in his essay on the Master of Flémalle (p. 22), points out that the St. John is here represented as in the Werl altarpiece, with only minor modifications. My own judgment is based only on mediocre reproductions, but I conclude that these shutters may very well have been done in Rogier's studio.

106. *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*.

a. (Plate 119) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 100 (138 × 111). On the provenance of this panel, cf. the Pinakothek catalogue. From the theme, it is likely that the painting was originally in the chapel of a painters' guild. The Boisserées seem to have bought it in Brussels. Dürer's entry in his travel diary, dated August 1520 at Brussels, may relate to this picture: *2 Stüber geben von Sanct Lucas Tafel aufzusperren*.

• Inv. No. WAF. 1188.

b. (Plate 119) The Hermitage, St. Petersburg, No. 445 (185 (?) × 125), acquired from Spain in two parts at different times, then joined in Russia and transferred from wood to canvas 1911. • 102.5 × 108.5 cm.

c. (Plate 118) Boston museum. On the reverse, the arms of Anthony (*le Bastart*) of Burgundy, with the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece (cf. the arms in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges, Pl. 94 in the catalogue of the Toison d'Or exhibition). Anthony became a Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1456 (1921). • 135.3 × 108.8 cm.

d. (Plate 119) Collection of Count Wilzeck, Vienna, No. 116 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (Photo Bruckmann); No. 88 at the Munich exhibition of 1901 (133 × 107). • Now in Vaduz (Liechtenstein), collection of Count Ferdinand Wilzeck.

e. f. Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid; Don Sebastian, Pau. Cf. Justi, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1886, p. 98 (1931).

g. Louvre, a tapestry, dating from about 1500. A faithful reproduction in reverse.

h. Lázaro collection, Madrid, St. Luke alone, at half-length. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

82 i. Dublin museum (49 × 38), St. Luke alone, at half-length (1941).

The precise agreement among the replicas is a conspicuous feature. The Munich specimen, once regarded as the original, has lately received a less favourable judgment, the one in St. Petersburg being on occasion regarded as superior. A final conclusion is difficult, because both specimens have come down to us in a damaged condition. The one in Russia has been softened and flattened by the murderous procedure of transferring it from wood to canvas, while the one in Munich has been disfigured by various glazes. If the latter is not the original, it is an extremely faithful workshop replica (1951). On dating and relationship to Jan van Eyck, cf. p. 18, 20, above.

107. *The Virgin Nursing the Child, One Hand at Her Breast.*

The list that follows is by no means complete—I have omitted mediocre and late panels even among those known to me—and includes variations of the St. Luke Madonna (cf. also the half-length figures I regard as by the master's own hand, under 27, 29 (1961, 43)). The compositions closest to the St. Luke Madonna are placed at the beginning (1971).

a. (Plate 120) Brussels museum, No. 650 (55 × 34), with a window giving on a landscape. The arms in the window remain obscure. By a follower, austere in style. The composition is entirely as in the St. Luke panel, although with the change in the position of the child's feet shown in virtually all the half-length figures.

b. (Plate 120) Cassel museum, No. 3 (44 × 30).

c. (Plate 120) Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, No. 60 (55.5 × 35.5). One-half of a diptych, the other half of which, by another, more recent hand (about 1490), shows a donor with an episcopal saint. Exactly like a, this painting is reproduced and described at length in the catalogue published in 1919, *Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings*, p. 294 ff. The donor was Joos van der Burgh. The panel comes from Furnes, near Ostende (1981). • Now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

d. Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, No. 517 (29 × 19, rounded at the top). The left half of a diptych, on the right half of which appear a donor couple. In its main features, this composition is like a. From the style, done about 1500 and no longer Rogierian.

e. Von Pannwitz collection, Hartekamp, near Haarlem (previously von Kaufmann, auction No. 81—24 × 15.5). The child's posture still resembles the St. Luke panel. Done about 1490, the Madonna is in type reminiscent of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Once in private hands in Vienna, this panel was then combined into a diptych with a painting by Marcellus Coffermans showing the adoring Magi. • Now in South America?

f. Munich art market (A.S. Drey, 1908—63 × 48), No. 60 at the C.S. auction, Paris, 1923, described as *Ecole Flamande*. A hanging behind the Madonna is held by

two angels. The composition as in a, but remote from Rogier in execution. About 1480.

g. London art market (Buttery, 1898—66.5 × 46, rounded at the top, in the original frame). A framework drawn in black on gold appears in the ground. The composition is like a. By a competent follower 1991, thoroughly in the Rogierian style. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 17.190.16; 56.2 × 34.3 cm.

h. (Plate 120) J.N.[ormand] auction, Paris, 1923, No. 2 (58 × 40), there attributed to Dieric Bouts. The child's hands are in a different position, the Virgin faces the child. A sound follower who departs far from Rogier in his forms—perhaps Albert Bouts 11001. Hulin, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 45, p. 56, attributes it to Dieric Bouts. • Has since been with the art dealer Demotte, New York.

i. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 4 in its catalogue (53 × 42.5). The date of 1488 on the frame is of doubtful authenticity. The posture of the child, who holds an apple in his left hand, is quite different from the St. Luke Madonna. Dotted gold ground. By a competent follower.

• j. Missing in the original edition.

This composition was repeated on numerous occasions early in the 16th century, e.g.:

k. Genolini auction, Milan, 1901, No. 40 (67 × 51), cropped to oval format, with a landscape background. • In 1960, in the Gebhardt Galerie, Munich (Deutsche Kunst und Antiquitätenmesse); 69 × 52 cm.

l. Lázaro collection, Madrid. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

m. Emden auction, Berlin, 1910, No. 84, there attributed, possibly correctly, to Bernard van Orley. • May be identical with a version in the Cremer collection, Dortmund, 68 × 55 cm.

The last three pictures, which resemble one another, go back to a 15th century prototype coinciding with h in every feature 11011.

n. London art market (Dowdeswells, 1904—a tondo, diameter 19). A cramped detail, showing the Virgin full-face and the child's head. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (E. and P. S. Straus Collection), Cat. No. 28.

108. *The Virgin Holding The Child with both Hands.*

This popular type arose as a variant upon the St. Luke Madonna. One breast of the Virgin is bare and encircled by her kerchief, while the child rests in much the same position as before. Among known masters, the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula repeated this composition (van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels, reproduced in Winkler, Pl. xiv—exceptionally, the Virgin's breast is here covered) 11021. • Now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

a. (Plate 121) Brussels museum, No. 667 (40 × 29). A wall opens behind the Virgin and gives on to a landscape background. By a highly competent follower, purely in Rogier's style 11031.

b. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels (41 × 31). No. 10 in the Guildhall exhibition, London, 1906, reproduced in the catalogue. By a mediocre imitator. Brocade background, otherwise like a. • Around 1955, in the Lyndhurst collection, Brussels.

c. London art market, 1923 (36 × 24), mediocre imitation of a, or of a closely agreeing prototype. The line of the child's head is somewhat different.

d. Traumann collection, Madrid, with a background of brocade and a Latin inscription in two lines below. By a weak imitator, known through other works.

• No longer there; present location unknown.

e. Von Osmitz collection, Vienna (1920), exactly like d and by the same hand. There are other compositions of the Virgin at half-length by this master.

f. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, acquired in 1923 from the church of St. Florian (43 × 30), erroneously ascribed to the Master of the Life of the Virgin. Gold ground, framed in clouds. Remote from Rogier's style, mediocre, about 1490.

g. Collection of Professor Sarre, Berlin-Neubabelsberg (39 × 28, rounded at the top). Good execution, about 1500.

The four panels that follow, displaying variations in the position of the hands, all come from the workshop of a feeble imitator. Their common characteristic is the Gothic termination at the top, with intertwined tracery (11041).

h. Altona exhibition of 1914, No. 230, reproduced in the catalogue.

i. Frankfurt art market, 1920 (45 × 31.5).

• j. Missing in the original edition.

k. (Plate 121) Lille museum, No. 1,065 (49 × 33), reproduced in *Geborgene Kunstwerke*, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 403.

l. (Plate 121) London art market (Dowdeswells—46 × 32). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 44.105.1.

m. Clemens collection, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, without the Gothic scrollwork, but probably by the same hand as h, i, k and l.

n. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 288 (37 × 28.5). A width of brocade forms the background. About 1500. Reproduced in Winkler, Pl. XIV.

109. *The Virgin Nursing the Child Who Holds an Apple.*

This pictorial type, which became popular in Bruges, is another variant upon the St. Luke Madonna, for the Virgin's hand at her breast, the encircling kerchief and the posture of the child are all derived from that source. Continuing characteristics are the apple the child holds in his right hand, while he moves his left in front of the Virgin's left hand, but the style and background may be markedly modified in later versions. Gerard David employed this composition (Traumann collection, Madrid, Bodenhhausen, *Gerard David*, No. 7 (11051). • In 1928 in the Lázaro collection, Madrid; 44 × 31 cm. Vol. VI, No. 205. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid, No. 3049), and it was repeatedly employed in Isenbrant's workshop (11061). The Bruges Master of the Legend of St. Ursula, who flourished about 1480, took over the motive for his painting preserved in the Suermondt Museum in Aachen (11071). Apart from these utilizations (cf. my essay in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1906, p. 144) by known masters, I note the following copies:

a. (Plate 121) Paris art market (Wildenstein, 1921), with a landscape behind a wall, very much in Rogier's style, much more archaic than all the other specimens (11081). This may be taken as evidence that the composition was in all its details fixed by Rogier or in his workshop or by an immediate follower.

b. (Plate 121) Bautier collection, Brussels (formerly in the Palazzo Orsini).

With a landscape and buildings. Remote from Rogier in style, probably by a Bruges master around 1490, stimulated by Gerard David. • Now in the Georges Bautier collection, Brussels; 31 × 21 cm.

c. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels (formerly in the collection of Count Stroganoff, this picture passed through the Munich art market). A chamber with a window giving on a landscape. Excellently executed. Very similar to b and probably by the same hand.

d. Munich art market (J. Böhrer, 1917—41 × 30.5). With a landscape. A picture of little significance, probably done in Bruges about 1500.

e. M. Jaffé collection, Berlin (No. 241 at the Hoech auction, Munich). Quite like d and probably by the same hand.

f. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1910). Neutral ground and conspicuously large radiating haloes. In style like e.

g. F. von Lenbach collection, Munich, No. 60 in the Munich exhibition of 1901, reproduced in the catalogue. With a landscape above a wall. Lingering echoes of Rogierian forms.

The Brussels forgers too have got hold of this composition (Sedelmayer auction, 1907, No. 239; Lepke auction, 22nd February 1910, No. 77).

110. *Madonna at Half-Length with the Child Who Toys with Her Hair*. In general posture the child is similar to that in the St. Luke panel.

a. (Plate 122) Donaueschingen Gallery (32 × 26). The type of the Virgin is very similar to the Renders Madonna (29), the child to the Cassirer Madonna (35). Of high quality 11091. • Apparently bought in 1938 by Dr. Springer, Berlin. Around 1950, in a South German private collection.

b. Lepke auction, Berlin, 17th October 1911, No. 68 (37 × 27). Dotted gold ground. A mediocre copy of about 1500.

c. Private collection, Dresden, open hall with landscape behind. A mediocre imitation of about 1500.

The catalogue of the Donaueschingen Gallery (1921) mentions a number of other replicas, some of which are not known to me. These data, however, do not seem to be altogether accurate, for the Memling Madonna in the Wernher collection at London, here listed as a copy, is in fact composed quite differently 11101.

Winkler is mistaken in his surmise that this Madonna formed a diptych with the male portrait in the von Kaufmann collection 11111. As the donor, the man would have been represented with his hands. If the hands are missing because the panel was cut down, the original dimensions would not fit. The Madonna, moreover, would have scarcely formed one-half of a diptych, for mother and child do not face in the same direction.

The following Madonnas in half-length are variants in which the child maintains his straight and stiff overall posture, although the compositions do not fit any of the four groups that have been established.

111. (Plate 123) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With a landscape. Austerely in the Rogierian style. Baldwin Coolidge photo No. 9,277 11121.

112. Prestel auction, Frankfurt, 4th March 1911, No. 64 (40 × 27). Very weak.

113. Lucerne art market (Steinmeyer, 1920). With an angel on each side.

114. (Plate 123) London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1924—30 × 20). Gold ground. About 1470. • Now in the City Art Gallery, York (Lycett Green collection, No. 19); 24.4 × 14.7 cm.

115. (Plate 123) Friedsam collection, New York (No. 23 in the Cardon auction, Brussels, 1921, there attributed to van der Goes; No. 15 at the Guildhall, London, 1906; No. 190 at the Toison d'Or exhibition, Bruges, 1907—30 × 24). Relatively autonomous and strange in effect, with heavy shadows, and a bit vehement in form, remote from Rogier. About 1470. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury.

The following half-length Madonnas are quite independent of the St. Luke panel.

116. (Plate 123) Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 66 (24 × 17). The child is seated and plays with a rosary, while being supported by his mother's two hands. Probably a copy after a lost original. • In 1962, was in the possession of the art dealer Julius Weitzner, New York; present location unknown; 20 × 15 cm.

117. (Plate 123) P.M.(ersch) auction, Paris, 1908, No. 31 (40 × 25), there attributed to van der Goes. No. 191 at the Toison d'Or exhibition, Bruges, 1907. The child plays with the big toe of his left foot, which is drawn up high. An imitation, if not a copy, of a lost original. • Now in the collection of Dr. Jamar, Brussels; 41.5 × 25.5 cm.

118. (Plate 123) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 341 in the catalogue (24 × 17), erroneously marked 'D. Bouts (?)'. The Madonna is shown kissing the child, whom she clasps with folded hands. In a mediocre state of preservation. Of great subtlety, worthy of Rogier in motive, almost in execution as well.

119. (Plate 124) Paris art market (Bourgeois, 1911—58 × 40). The child, clothed in a shift and seated on a cushion, is held in the Virgin's folded hands. There is a view through a window. Excellent, strictly in Rogier's style (1113). • Now [1937] in the E. A. Faust collection, New York. • Now in the Leicester B. Faust collection, Chesterfield (St. Louis), Mo.

a. Pelletier collection, Paris (50 × 33), a copy. The child here holds a flower instead of a white butterfly.

120. *Madonna at Full-Length, Seated, with the Child Who Holds a Flower.*

a. (Plate 124) Engraving by the Master of the Banderols (Lehrs, 45). A print in Darmstadt. Reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 30, p. 18.

This composition was employed especially early in the 16th century by Bernard van Orley and the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, cf. my essay in *Jahrbuch*

der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Vol. 30, p. 10 ff. 11141, and also Winkler (p. 64), who documents German copies. Apart from this engraving, there is, oddly enough, nothing to show that the composition was used at an early date. In the view of Lehrs, the Master of the Banderoles was active in the Netherlands between 1450 and 1470.

121. *Madonna with the Child, Standing and Hugging Her*. An oft-copied composition that presumably goes back to an original by Rogier (cf. Winkler, p. 65 ff). In addition to many half-length versions, done for the most part in Bruges in the 16th century, there are a few examples in which the Virgin is shown at full-length.

a. Carvalho collection, Paris (45 × 32), reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 6, p. 301. The Virgin is shown seated with angels in a hall opening to the right. A feeble imitation.

b. (Plate 125) Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, a drawing that is a rather mediocre copy, reproduced in Winkler, Pl. XII. The Virgin is shown seated in an open hall, similar to a, but without the angels. • 272 × 195 mm.

c. (Plate 125) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 590a (87 × 94), an altarpiece panel showing the Virgin with St. Jerome, St. Elisabeth and the donor and his family. Done soon after 1461 (cf. note in the Berlin catalogue) by a weak follower of Rogier. • Destroyed during the siege of Berlin in 1945.

d. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1911—90 × 70), the Virgin at full-length against a landscape in the manner of Joachim Patenier.

e. (Plate 125) Cernuschi auction, Paris, May 1900, No. 144 (155 × 123), the Virgin with Joseph and a saint (1151). Spanish (?), about 1500. • Now Ministry of National Education and Culture, Brussels; 157 × 101 cm.

f. Darmstadt museum, No. 188 (56 × 50), the Virgin at half-length, reversed from the specimens noted above. • Left the Museum before 1940. Present location unknown.

g. Von Pannwitz collection, Hartekamp, near Haarlem, the Virgin at half-length (62 × 47). By Adriaen Isenbrant 1161. • Now in the Rosenberg and Stiebel Gallery, New York.

There are many half-length versions of this composition, especially in Spain.

122. (Plate 126) *Madonna with Sts. John the Baptist, Peter, Cosmas and Damian, Standing at an Altar in a Church* 1171. Sir H. Cook collection, Richmond, No. 454 in Catalogue III (46 × 30). Although the composition is in its main features the same as the Medici Madonna in Frankfurt and shows the same saints, this is by no means a copy. All the postures have been deliberately altered. By a competent follower, who may have worked in the master's studio. The picture comes from Rimini in Italy. • Now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Wetzlar, Amsterdam.

123. *The Holy Family*. Joseph seated at left, drowsing, the Virgin at right, warming her outstretched right hand over a charcoal brazier.

a. (Plate 126) Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 22 (53 × 81), given to Garofalo. The composition evidently goes back to Rogier, at least in part. Presumably the Ferrarese painter worked from an original in Ferrara.

124. *Jesus in Half-Length Giving the Blessing.*

a. (Plate 126) Von Hoschek collection, Prague, No. 135 in the catalogue published in 1907 (20 × 13.2). • Now in the Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings, Greenville, South Carolina, No. 111; 20.3 × 13.8 cm.

b. Berlin art market, 1924.

88

The two pictures closely resemble each other. In type, the head is like the central figure in the Louvre triptych (26). Schongauer's drawing in the Uffizi (reproduced in J. Rosenberg, *Martin Schongauer, Handzeichnungen*, Munich, 1923, No. 15) is derived from a painting or drawing of this character.

125. *Portrait of Philip the Good.*

a. (Plate 127) Royal Palace, Madrid (42 × 28, rounded at the top), without head covering, a careful copy.

b. (Plate 127) Gotha museum, No. 78 (42 × 28, rounded at the top), like a, but done rather later, judging from the style. • Has left the museum. Present location unknown.

c. (Plate 127) Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, No. 397 (30 × 22), like a, but weaker in execution.

d. (Plate 127) Lille museum, No. 213 (25 × 19), with a large hat, a dry copy.

e. Ertborn collection, Antwerp museum, No. 538 (29 × 24), like d.

f. Louvre, Paris, No. 1,003 (32 × 23), like d, but with the hands showing, the right holding a scroll.

g. (Plate 127) Academy, Bruges, like f. • Now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).

Included in the Toison d'Or exhibition at Bruges were several more specimens, similar in type to d, e, f and g (Nos. 6-11 in the catalogue). Another type is represented in a bust-length portrait half-turned to the left, with the hands not showing. This was sold as No. 29 at the Haro auction in Paris in 1911 (48 × 31). • Now in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.

126. *Portrait of the Duke of Cleves.*

a. (Plate 128) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, office of the director of the Cabinet des Estampes, reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 40, p. 213. Correctly identified by Martin Conway as a stylistically faithful copy after a portrait by Rogier's hand. • Now in the Musée National du Louvre, Paris, No. 4134 (on loan from the Bibliothèque Nationale); 49.5 × 32.5 cm.

127. (Plate 13) *Portrait of a Woman.* J.P. Heseltine collection, London (31 × 22.5). No. 96 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (Photo Bruckmann) 11181. By a competent follower, possibly the same who did the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the Antwerp cathedral (84). • Now [1937] in the Baron M. de Rothschild collection, Paris.

128. (Plate 128) *Two Male Heads.* Oil on vellum. Budapest museum (new accession 1923), apparently copied out of a painting by the master.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

89

Supp. 129. (Plate 133) *A Donor with St. James and the Virgin of the Annunciation*. Preserved in fragments and wrongly assembled (1191). Collection of Lord Leconfield, Petworth (65 × 65). No. 122 in the catalogue, attributed to 'Burgundian School (c. 1470).' • Now in the John Wyndham collection, Petworth.

Supp. 130. (Plate 136) *St. George, Mounted*. Collection of Lady Evelyn Mason, London (14 × 10.3). Cf. p. 55, 56, above • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, No. 2310.

Supp. 131. (Plates 134, 135) *Triptych with a Crucifixion*. On the left shutter, a donor (1201). Abegg collection, Lake of Zug (centre panel, 103 × 70). Formerly privately owned in Turin. Cf. p. 55, 56, above, and *Pantheon*, 1933, p. 7. • Now in the Kunstmuseum, Berne (Abegg Stiftung); the wings are 103 × 31.1 cm.

Supp. 132. (Plate 137) *Madonna*. In full length. Prado, Madrid (new accession, 1931). This composition was known to me from copies. • No. 2722, Durán bequest.

a. New York art market, excellent Spanish copy in large format (1121). Cf. Vol. IV, 85a: • In 1925 in the possession of the art dealer Kleinberger.

b. In private ownership, Freiburg, Germany, a copy of about 1500 with angels added. • 86 × 57 cm.

c. Paris art market (Moreno) (1122), a late 15th century copy, cf. Vol. IV, 85b: • Was there in 1926. • Now in the Art Museum of Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey; 113 × 57.5 cm.

d. Paris art market (Stora), by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, cf. Vol. IV, 85: • 78 × 61. • Now in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. Inv. No. 2518.

Supp. 133. (Plate 138) *St. Jerome, Drawing a Thorn from the Paw of a Lion*. New York art market (1936), formerly in private hands in Paris. Similar to the St. Jerome on the outside of the Sforza triptych in Brussels. • Now in the Institute of Arts, Detroit, Acc. No. 46.359, Cat. No. 885; 31.6 × 26.3 cm.

Supp. 134. (Plate 139) *Portrait of a Man*. Bust-length, in the original frame, with a motto on the reverse. London art market (Colnaghi, 34 × 24). • Now in the Thomas Merton collection, Stubbings House, Maidenhead Thicket.

Supp. 135. (Plate 139) *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*. Bust-length. Bache collection, New York (28 × 20). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bache collection), No. L. 44.23.23.

(from Volume XIV)

No painting attributable with certainty to Rogier himself has come to light since 1937, but quite a few can be mentioned that are more or less closely related to him, or that are related to the style Friedländer had defined, in 1924, as the Master of Flémalle's and, in 1937, as Rogier's during his younger years.

Whether it be the young Rogier or not, we retain here, for convenience, the appellation Master of Flémalle. Some of the newly known paintings seem indeed to fall within the earliest years of this group, so archaic in style that they would most probably not have been given to Rogier by Friedländer, who found it hard (p. 56) to include even the *Marriage of the Virgin* of the Prado (No. 51) in van der Weyden's œuvre 11231.

● Add. 136. (Plate 139) *The Lamentation*. San Diego, California, Museum of Fine Arts, Acc. No. 42: 131; 63.5 × 42.9 cm. Rogier follower. Cf. *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 89-91 (No. 12).

○ Add. 137. *The Virgin, Seated, Nursing the Child*. London, Lord Radcliffe collection; in a sale at Christie's on 26th June 1959; 85.6 × 71.3 cm. Copy of the left half of the *Virgin Painted by St. Luke* (No. 106). Two whippets added in the landscape (reproduced in Vol. IV). Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 15-16. See also Vol. IV, No. 89 (Paris, private collection).

● Add. 138. (Plate 125) *The Virgin, at Half-Length, Nursing the Child, one Hand at her Breast*. Belgium, private collection; in 1962 this work was in the possession of the art dealer R. Finck, Brussels, 43 × 30 cm. Copy at half-length of the *Virgin Painted by St. Luke* (No. 106, see also No. 107); possibly painted for Margaret of York. Exhibited in London, Royal Academy, 1877, 'Works of Old Masters'. Cf. V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage. Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 8), Brussels, 1965, p. 51.

● Add. 139. (Plate 110) *The Lamentation* (sculptured group from an altarpiece). Detroit. The Institute of Arts, 86 × 137.5 cm, oak, once polychromed. After Rogier van der Weyden (No. 94). Cf. N. Verhaegen, 'The Arenberg "Lamentation" in the Detroit Institute of Arts', in *The Art Quarterly*, XLI, 1962, pp. 294-312.

● Add. 140. *The Lamentation*. Watervliet (Belgium), Church of Our Lady, 236 × 235 cm. Central panel of a triptych. After Rogier van der Weyden (No. 94), attributed to the Master of Frankfurt. Reproduced in Vol. VII, Addenda. Published by E. Michel, 'Le Maître de Francfort', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., XII, 1934, pp. 236 ff.

- Add. 141. (Plate 133) *The Angel of the Annunciation*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Museum, No. 61; 74 × 65 cm. Exterior, in grisaille, of a left wing. After Rogier van der Weyden (No. 9, partially). Cf. *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1909 (4th ed.), p. 22, No. 61.
- Add. 142. (Plate 124) *The Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*, Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts; 50 × 35 cm. Copy after a Rogier follower (No. 119). Centrepiece of a triptych; the Child holds a pear. Cf. *Scaldis* (Exhibition catalogue), Tournai, 1956, No. 92, p. 132.
- Add. 143. (Plate 109) *St. Jerome Drawing a Thorn from the Lion's Paw*. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, No. 277; 53 × 36 cm. Copy after a Rogier follower (No. 93, the Sforza triptych, exterior of left wing). Cf. P. Wescher, 'Zanetto Bugatto and Rogier van der Weyden', in *The Art Quarterly*, xxv, 1962, pp. 209-213.
- Add. 144. (Plate 142) *Christ Carrying the Cross* (pen drawing). Formerly Leipzig, F. Becker collection; sold in Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 4th March 1931; 260 × 200 mm. After a lost composition by Rogier van der Weyden. Associated with No. 94a. Cf. F. Winkler, 'Some Early Netherlandish Drawings', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxiv, 1913-1914, p. 231.
- Add. 145. (Plate 21) *The Madonna and Child with Saints* (drawing). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 225 × 167 mm. After a partially lost composition by Rogier van der Weyden (see Nos. 12 and 36). Cf. M. Davies, 'Rogier van der Weyden's "Magdalen Reading"', in *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 77-89.
- Add. 146. *The Descent from the Cross*. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (on loan from the Convent of the Franciscans), 129 × 94 cm, centre panel of a triptych. After a lost composition by Rogier, by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine (reproduced in Vol. IV). Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister der Katharinen-Legende und Rogier van der Weyden', in *Oud-Holland*, LXIV, 1949, p. 156 ff. See also Vol. IV, No. 51.
- Add. 146A. (Plate 129) *The Madonna and Child*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (Koenigs collection), 216 × 133 mm. Silverpoint drawing by Rogier. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'A Drawing by Roger van der Weyden', in *Old Master Drawings*, I, 1926, No. 3, pp. 29-32.
- Add. 147. (Plate 141) *Triptych with the Entombment*, on the centre panel; the kneeling donor and the three crosses, on the left wing; the Resurrection, on the right wing. London, Count A. Seilern collection, 60 × 48.9—22.5 cm. Attributed to the Master of Flémalle. Published by K. Bauch, 'Ein Werk Robert Campins?', in *Pantheon*, xxxiii, 1944, pp. 30 ff. See also J. G. van Gelder, 'An Early Work by Robert Campin', in *Oud-Holland*, Lxxxii, 1967, pp. 3-11.

- Add. 148. (Plate 141) *Portrait of a Man*. London, National Gallery; 18.7 × 11.7 cm; 22.6 × 15.2 cm including the original frame. Published by M. Davies, 'A Portrait by Campin', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, p. 622.
- Add. 149. (Plate 141) *St. John the Baptist*. Cleveland, Museum of Art, fragment, 17.3 × 12.5 cm. Attributed to the Master of Flémalle. Published by P. Pieper, 'Eine Tafel von Robert Campin', in *Pantheon*, XXIV, 1966, pp. 278-281.
- Add. 150. (Plate 100) *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No. 1036; 85 × 73 cm. By the Master of Flémalle? Another version of No. 73. Published by H. T. Musper, 'Die Brüsseler Gregorsmesse ein Original', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1952, pp. 89-94. It is not excluded that this version could be identical with No. 73b.
- Add. 151. (Plate 142) *The Madonna of Humility*. Brussels, collection of the late Baronne Gendebien; 46.8 × 36 cm. Master of Flémalle follower. Cf. C. de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939, p. 16, Pl. 24.
- Add. 152. (Plate 142) *Madonna and Child with Saints in the Enclosed Garden*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Acc. No. 1388 (S. H. Kress Foundation), 119.9 × 148.8 cm. Master of Flémalle studio? Cf. *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, Washington, 1951, p. 168 (No. 74).
- Add. 153. (Plate 143) *The Holy Family*. Le Puy (France), Treasury of the cathedral (obtained in 1964 from the Convent of the Clarisses), 208.5 × 180.5 cm. On canvas. Master of Flémalle follower. Published by V. Bloch, 'An Unknown Composition by the Master of Flémalle', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CV, 1963, p. 72; see also C. Eisler, 'A Flemish Holy Family', *Ibidem*, p. 371. A sixteenth (?) century copy of this painting is in the chapel of the Diocesan Mission, Clermont-Ferrand.
- Add. 154. (Plate 90) *Portrait of Robert de Masmines*. Castagnola, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), 29.5 × 18 cm. Master of Flémalle, replica (cf. No. 61). Published by F. Winkler, 'Das Bildnis des Robert de Masmines (?) vom Meister von Flémalle', in *Berliner Museen-Berichte aus den ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, New Series, VII, 1957, pp. 37-41.
- Add. 155. (Plate 77) *The Annunciation*. Genua, private collection, 65 × 65 cm. A late 16th century (?) copy after the Master of Flémalle (No. 54, centrepiece); this copy bears an old inscription: 'Rogier van der W...'. Published by V. Denis, 'Un Nouvel Argument en faveur de l'Unité de l'Oeuvre de Roger Van der Weyden', in *Annales de la Fédération Historique et Archéologique de Belgique*, 35e Congrès-Courtrai, 26-30 Juillet 1953, Courtrai, 1955, pp. 541-547.
- Add. 156. *The Virgin by the Fireplace*. Greenville, South Carolina, The Bob Jones University Art Gallery, No. 130; 82.5 × 55 cm. A 16th century version, freely after the Master of Flémalle (No. 64), with Renaissance elements. Attributed to J. Gos-

saert. Cf. *The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*, Greenville, South Carolina, 1962, p. 234, reprod. p. 235 and V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 8), Brussels, 1965, p. 16. There is an engraving by the Monogrammist B.M. after the *Virgin by the Fireplace* (M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog des Deutschen, Niederländischen und Französischen Kupferstichs im xv. Jahrhundert*, VI, Vienna, 1927, No. 402, Pl. 151).

● Add. 157. *The Crucifixion*. A lost painting by the Master of Flémalle, known through two copies: one by Gerard David, Castagnola, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), see Vol. VI, No. 186, and one, a book illumination, by the Master of the d'Arenberg Book of Hours, Pierpont-Morgan Library, New York (not foliated) (Plate 86A). See E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 176-177, figs. 129 and 229.

● Add. 158. (Plate 114) *The Fall of the Damned; The Ascension of the Blessed in Heaven*; reverse: *Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise*. Madrid, private collection, 209 × 58 cm each. Two wings from the *Last Judgment* in Valencia (No. 101). By Vrancke van der Stockt? With Boutsian quotations. Published by J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes des Quinzième et Seizième Siècles*) 1, Antwerp, 1953, pp. 35-37 (No. 46).

● Add. 159. (Plate 143) *Adoring Angel* and *Angel Playing the Harp*. Madrid, private collection, 60.5 × 28 cm each. Two wings of a polyptych? By Vrancke van der Stockt? Published by J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II.).. pp. 31-32 (No. 38).

● Add. 160. (Plate 143) *The Annunciation*. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts; 160 × 92 cm. By Vrancke van der Stockt? Published by A. Brunard, 'Vrancke van der Stockt Successeur de Roger van der Weyden en Qualité de Peintre Officiel de la Ville de Bruxelles', in *Bruxelles au xve Siècle*, Brussels, 1953, pp. 80, 83-84.

A certain number of compositions that must have enjoyed celebrity have been copied and interpreted again and again. These versions show a wide variety of dates and are of unequal quality. Unknown ones still emerge from time to time in the field of research. It is pointless to try to add them all to the present list; we will indicate only the principal compositions copied in this way.

No. 3, *The Descent from the Cross*, Escorial (some)

No. 20, *The Lamentation*, London, The National Gallery (fairly numerous)

No. 46, *The Lamentation*, The Hague, Mauritshuis (a few, rather late)

No. 70, *The Virgin Nursing the Child*, bust, after the Frankfurt Flémalle Madonna, generally in the form of a tondo (numerous)

No. 71, *The Almighty with the Body of Christ* (some)

No. 73, *The Mass of Pope Gregory* (some), see also No. Add. 150, above.

No. 74, *The Virgin in the Apse* (numerous, more than 30, some of high quality).

- No. 94, *The Lamentation* (some), see also Nos. Add. 139 and 140, above.
- No. 97, *The Descent from the Cross*, half-length figures (quite numerous; more than 150 have been counted).
- No. 98, *The Descent from the Cross*, deriving from the preceeding, with three personages (some).
- No. 107, *The Virgin Nursing the Child*, after the St. Luke Madonna (numerous), see also No. Add. 138, above.
- No. 107h, *The Virgin Nursing the Child*, the latter seated on a cushion (some), see also Note 101.
- No. 108h-1, *The Virgin Holding the Child with both Hands* (some)
- No. 109, *The Virgin Nursing the Child who Holds an Apple* (numerous)
- No. 110, *The Madonna at Half-Length with the Child who Toys with Her Hair* (some)
- No. 121, *The Madonna with the Child, Standing and Hugging Her* (numerous, both with complete figure and at half-length)
- No. 125, *The Portrait of Philip the Good* (some)
- No. Supp. 132, *The Madonna in a Niche*, full length, Madrid, Prado (some)
- No. Add. 146, *The Descent from the Cross*, with two ladders (some)

It is beyond the scope of this short note to give a full account of the publications issued on the subject since 1937. The relevant bibliography can be found in Winkler's articles on Rogier van der Weyden and on the Master of Flémalle in Thieme and Becker's dictionary (124) and in Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting* (125) two important chapters of which deal with these painters. A selective and annotated bibliography, moreover, including the 36 most important publications, is given in the handbook issued on the occasion of the fifth centenary of Rogier's death, commemorated in 1964 in Tournai (126). The main lines of research and examples of publications on particular works or problems published since Volume XIV of *Die Altniederländische Malerei* are here indicated.

Friedländer changed his mind between 1924 and 1937 on the question of van der Weyden versus the Master of Flémalle, as he did in the case of the brothers van Eyck, shifting from a dualistic view towards a unitarian one. Here too, despite his cautious way of thinking, he seems to have been attracted by the instinctive and impetuous conviction of Renders, champion of the unitarian theory. Always moderate in the expression of his ideas, Friedländer offered his views only as a working hypothesis rather than as a definitive conclusion. His alignment was nevertheless an event, and after him art historians took positions, more or less passionately, for or against Renders' theories (127).

If it were necessary to demonstrate how precarious is our knowledge of the great Flemish masters of the 15th century, it would be enough to consider a surprising and certainly disturbing fact: Every art historian who has spoken out, beginning with Renders and Friedländer, has taken a parallel position on both the Eyckian and the Rogierian issues. Every single one of those who are explicitly 'for' Hubert van Eyck is also 'for' the Master of Flémalle; the same is true for those who are 'against'. Thus, when reviewing the principal defenders of each camp, we will find the same names on the same side as in Volume I.

Those who support the unity of van der Weyden's œuvre—who with Renders and Friedländer attribute to the young Rogier the works previously grouped under the name of the Master of Flémalle—are Lavalleye (128), Beyaert-Carlier (129), Musper (130), Maquet-Tombu (131), Valentiner (132), Denis (133), Tovell (134), among others. On the contrary side, among the partisans of the Master of Flémalle, generally identified with Robert Campin, are Hulin de Loo (135), Tolnay (136), Beenken (137), Schöne (138), van Puyvelde (139), Winkler (140), Panofsky (141) and recently Van Gelder (142) and Frinta (143). An example of a carefully objective position is that of Davies (144); he is possibly the only art historian expressing a more dualistic opinion in the case of van der Weyden than in the case of van Eyck. We should give separate mention to Larsen (145) who, going back to older tradition, resuscitates a Rogier of Bruges differing from both Rogier of Brussels and the Master of Flémalle.

Renders built his theories on the interpretation of archivist and literary sources

and on stylistic criticism. On both these grounds, art historians have continued to disagree obstinately.

For historical interpretation, unfortunately our only reliance must be on rare and somewhat obscure data, in several cases apparently contradictory (1461). They have been either accepted literally or interpreted so as to support the thesis adopted. Before the high point of the controversy, Friedländer, somewhat prophetically, had written this bitter but characteristic phrase: '...it is thus shown once again that historians live on ignorance, projecting their theories with a boldness and assurance that are in inverse proportion to the available material and evidence.' (see p. 47). The hope of historians to discover some day an unequivocal solution to the van der Weyden-Flémalle riddle was singularly diminished by the fact that, in 1940, during the bombing of that city, the archives of Tournai were destroyed.

As for stylistic criticism, the task is just as hard because none of the paintings bears a signature or is authenticated by a contemporary document. Only two paintings can be attributed to Rogier on the basis of a source dating from the second half of the 16th century: the *Descent from the Cross* of the Crossbowmen of Louvain (No. 3) and the *Calvary* of the monastery of Scheut near Brussels (No. 25), both now belonging to the Escorial (1471). One can easily understand the difficulty of building, with the help of almost exclusively stylistic arguments, the whole remaining edifice, particularly when one approaches its outworks. Critics disagree even when considering the most important works. The comparison between the altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross* of the Crossbowmen of Louvain (No. 3) and the partially lost altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross* of which a fragment remains in Frankfurt, the *Crucified Thief*, and a complete copy (No. 59) in Liverpool, leads Friedländer to declare: 'The agreement between the two altarpieces is so striking that we must assume not only the identity of their authors but an approximately simultaneous time of origin' (see p. 54), the same comparison, for Panofsky, 'should suffice to prove the non-identity of the two painters' (1481). In the same way, the Abegg altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* (No. Supp. 131) is considered by Friedländer as the hinge uniting the two groups of works attributed to the so-called Master of Flémalle and to Rogier (see p. 56). But this same Abegg altarpiece is seen by Panofsky as the work of a late imitator: its author can be neither the Master of Flémalle nor Rogier (1491). A third point of view is that of Winkler who, although he sees Rogier's hand in the Abegg altarpiece, continues to believe in the existence of a Master of Flémalle (1501). Stylistic criticism would be greatly helped by a direct confrontation of the works. Unfortunately the juxtaposition of all the essential paintings appears impossible; the most important ones, in the Prado and in Frankfurt, cannot be transported (1511).

Renders juxtaposition of photographic details taken from different paintings in order to show the identity of authorship, has been criticized as proving precisely the opposite of what he wanted to prove. It is truer to say that it could not succeed as a demonstration because it did not take into account the essential differences of scale and photographic quality. In any case, it had the invaluable merit of attracting attention to the importance of the details of pictorial execution. The careful study of this execution, supported, as has become possible, by new means of scientific examination, is one of the best hopes we have to learn something more on the van

der Weyden—Flémalle—Campin question. The internal structure of the paintings can now be studied with the help of x-radiographs, microscopic examination of transversal sections in the paint layers and chemical analysis of pigments and media. The different steps in the execution—particularly the most important one dealing with the creation of the composition, the preparatory drawing—can be studied by infra-red photography and infra-red reflectogram. Macrophotography can reveal the brush strokes and the ‘handwriting’ of an artist. Unfortunately, in this field, it takes a long time to assemble a complete documentation and this fact considerably delays any general conclusion. The study of the pictorial execution of individual paintings belonging to the Rogier and Flémalle groups, in particular the altarpiece of the Virgin (Granada-New York, No. 1 and Berlin, No. 1a), has been attempted by Taubert (152) and Van Schoute (153). Technical examinations are described in the relevant notices of the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* (154).

Art historians, seeking whatever evidence they could find to help solve the enigma, have reached beyond the traditional œuvre. Mural paintings discovered in the church of Saint-Brice in Tournai have been attributed to Robert Campin by Roland (155). They are unfortunately extensively damaged. A late copy of the *Merode Annunciation* (No. Add. 155) with an apparently old inscription ‘Rogier van der W...’ was published by Denis (156). Medding (157) suggested as supplementary evidence in favour of the unitarian thesis the altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross* in Niederwaroldern, a German painting, dated 1519, that reflects the style of both Rogier and the Master of Flémalle.

Apart from the question of unity or dualism, many of the paintings have been studied on their own account. They are examined in detail in some of the general publications mentioned above, particularly those of Beenken, Winkler, Musper and especially Panofsky. Numerous articles moreover have been written on individual works (158). The altarpiece of the *Annunciation* in New York, the so-called Merode altarpiece (No. 54), has been studied from the point of view of iconography by Schapiro (159). Its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and its exhibition at the Cloisters have finally made it accessible to everyone and at the same time permitted its examination and treatment by specialists. Several studies have been published since by Tolnay (160), Rousseau (161), Freeman (162) and Suhr (163). The *Trinity* in Louvain (No. 71) is believed by Taubert (164) to be a copy, while Fischel (165) studied the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Prado (No. 51), proposing a ‘Master of the Marriage of the Virgin’ instead of the Master of Flémalle or Rogier for this painting. A brief note by Sulzberger (166) has cleared up an interesting point in the history of the *Descent from the Cross* of the Crossbowmen (No. 3), and von Simson has studied its iconography (167). While Valentiner (168) believed the Acquavella version of the *Mass of Pope Gregory* (No. 73a) to be an original by Rogier, Musper (169) claimed that the original was the painting in the Brussels museum (No. Add. 150). The same Musper—his opinion was expressed in a note signed by Die (170)—considered the *Annunciation* in the Brussels museum (No. 54b) to be an original work by a Tournai master, earlier than the *Annunciation* in the Cloisters (No. 54). The landscape of the Dijon *Nativity* (No. 53) was examined by Van Camp (171) and Génicot (172). Richardson (173) studied the so-called Cambrai altarpiece (No. 47). The identity of the donor of the *Last Judgment*

of Beaune (No. 14) as chancellor Rolin was challenged by Lejeune (174) but Desneux (175) and Quarre (176) refuted his arguments. The Rogierian authorship of the *Exhumation of St. Hubert* (No. 15) and the *Dream of Pope Sergius* (No. 19) has been challenged by some authors; among them are Davies (177) and van Gelder (178). Maquet-Tombu (179), Hulin de Loo (180), J. G. van Gelder (202) and Cetto (181) discussed the lost Justice paintings of the City Hall of Brussels (see p. 12), while Birkmeyer (182) closely analyzed the two small *Madonnas* of the Thyssen Collection (No. 8) and the Vienna museum (No. 7). Finally, Panofsky (183) devoted an important article to the *Lamentation* in the Mauritshuis (No. 46) and to the altarpiece of the *Seven Sacraments* (No. 16).

In addition to these studies of individual paintings, some general problems concerning works and painters included in the present volume have been treated of in publications. Friedländer himself dealt with the relations between van der Weyden and Memling (184). He wrote also on the relation between Rogier and the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, who is generally thought to be Rogier's son, Pieter van der Weyden (185). Hoogewerff (186) and Sulzberger (187) have considered Rogier's relations with Italy, and Houben (188) his influence on Raphael, while Willnau (189) explained his influence on Wohlgemut. Maquet-Tombu (190) wrote on Rogier's trip to Rome in 1450, and Meurer (191), called attention to two cases, in Rogier's œuvre, which remind one of antique figures. Drawings by Rogier and by Vrancke van der Stockt have been studied by Wescher (192) and by Lebeer (193). On van der Stockt and on Brussels at the time of Rogier, should also be consulted the publication issued on the occasion of the exhibition 'Bruxelles au Quinzième Siècle', in 1953 (194). Other publications, notably those by Roggen (195) and Koch (196) have dealt with Rogier's relationship to sculpture. The few portraits of the artist that have come down to us have been commented upon by Panofsky (197). The motive of the diaphragm-arch that characterizes some of his masterpieces has been studied at length by Birkmeyer (198). Some authors have focussed attention on works they believe were done by Rogier in his youth, works that do not belong to the Flémalle group: Winkler (199) and Birkmeyer (200). The tentative readings of crypto-signatures of Rogier or Campin are not too convincing (201). Finally the international colloquium that took place in Brussels in 1964 to commemorate the fifth centenary of Rogier's death should be cited (202).

Because of the importance and the number of works attributed to Rogier or the Master of Flémalle, these painters and their works are often included in publications dealing with more general subjects. Some examples are the technical publications by Burroughs (203) and Wolters (204), including studies of some paintings of this group; an article by Meiss (205) treating the symbolism of light in some 15th century paintings; an article by Godfrey (206) on the theme of the Baptism of Christ; and a publication by Philippot (207) analyzing the evolution of the image in Early Flemish Painting. He argues that the dynamism of Rogier's art stems mainly from the internal tension between the sculptural and pictorial poles of his style.

1. A mention from a contemporary document which gives Rogier's age as 35 on 21st October 1435 is published in Jules Destrée, *Rogier de la Pasture van der Weyden*, Paris-Brussels, 1930, I, p. 58. See also p. 53 of this volume.

2. This resolution of the Brussels magistrates was one of a number of economic measures taken because of financial difficulties. See Jules Destrée, *ibid.*, pp. 60-63.

3. Since 1945, the paintings have been on view in the sacristy. A careful study with detailed photographic documentation has been published by R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 6), Antwerp, 1963.

4. See p. 57.

5. See Note 32.

6. See p. 57.

7. See Note 95.

8. After its cleaning and treatment in 1950, this altarpiece was found to be an exceptionally well preserved work by Rogier (Letter from B. Heimberg, chief restorer at the Doerner Institute, Munich, 26th October 1966).

9. See Note 23.

10. In the original edition: *Eugene*, a misstatement for *Martin*; Friedländer gives the name correctly on p. 13.

11. It is now known that the early Flemish painters made the preparatory drawing with a brush on the ground layer. They used animal black—presumably bone black—as pigment and water as medium (P. Coremans, under the direction of, 'L'A-gneau Mystique au Laboratoire. Examen et Traitement', (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, III. *Contributions à l'Étude des Primitifs Flamands*, 2), Antwerp, 1953, pp. 75-76).

12. The tapestry representing the *Annunciation* is still preserved at the Musée des Gobelins (Mobiliier National et Manufactures Nationales des Gobelins et de Beauvais), Paris; the other tapestry, showing an *Adoration of the Magi*, is now on loan at the Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art.

13. The two missing sacrament scenes have since entered the Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, with the Rothschild bequest (Plate 130 G and 131 I).

14. In the Marquesa de Camporreal collection, 56 x 75 cm.

15. Now in the Allen Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, Inv. No. 42.128; 45.1 x 20.3 cm.

16. Now in the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, N. Y., No. 44.15; 45.7 x 20.3 cm.

17. In the National Museum of Fine Arts, Khanenko Collection, Kiev. These shutters represent Adam and Eve mourning over the body of Abel, and Jacob's grief at the sight of the blood-stained robes of Joseph.

18. On the confusion that can sometimes arise between original and copies a, b and c, see W. Schöne, 'Zur Kreuzabnahme Rogiers van der Weyden im Escorial', in *Kunstchronik* (Munich), VIII, 1955, pp. 7-9. See also Addenda, p. 93.

19. Now identified as the shutters to No. 9 (Suppl. Vol. XIV, 1937). At an unknown date, the part of the panel on which the bust of the donatrix was painted was sawn off and the bust of a new donor inserted; the complete kneeling figure was then over-painted (C. Aru and E. de Geradon, 'La Galerie Sabauda de Turin' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 2), Antwerp, 1952, pp. 21-22). The original fragment (see No. 127) is in the Rothschild collection, Paris.

20. The angel is believed to be a copy from the central panel of a triptych that included the two shutters in the Wyndham collection, Petworth (See p. 89; Suppl. from Vol. XIV, 1937). See H. Beenken, *Rogier van der Weyden*, Munich, 1951, Fig. 82. Another version of this angel, in a somewhat Boutsian style, is in the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg; it is painted in grisaille and seems to be the exterior of a left shutter (Plate 133). See Add. No. 141, p. 91.

21. See also Vol. XI, No. 146.

22. See also Vol. XI, No. 248.

23. The background has been cleaned revealing parts of other figures. This has permitted a partial reconstitution of the whole composition, which included also the two Gulbenkian fragments (No. 36). A drawing in Stockholm gives a clue to what the complete composition may have looked like. See Plate 21 and Add. No. 145, p. 91. See M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 3) II, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 173-175, and Idem, 'Rogier van der Weyden's "Magdalen Reading"', in *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 77-89.

24. Some of the interior panels of the altarpiece—especially the central panel and the Virgin's panel—were cleaned and treated after the end of World War II and their state of preservation is now much clearer. Of further help in judging the condition of these panels are the technical studies done in 1952 by the Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre. See M. Hours, 'Quelques Documents Tirés de l'Étude au Laboratoire du Polyptyque du Jugement Dernier de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune', in *Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre* (Supplement to the *Revue des Arts*, Paris), 1957, (October) pp. 23-40.

25. In the original edition: 1442, a misprint for 1443.

26. See Note 44.

27. In the original edition: 763, a misprint for 783. See also Vol. IV, p. 105 of the German edition.

28. Some evidence has been found that this altarpiece was in

the church of Sainte-Gudule in Brussels about 1625. See M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 3), II, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 179-192.

29. See Vol. IV, No. 48.

30. See also p. 93 (Addenda).

31. See also Vol. VI, No. 155.

32. The sitter has now been identified as Francesco d'Este, not Lionello, and a ring in his right hand has been uncovered by a cleaning of the picture. See H.B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, pp. 35-38.

33. Restored in 1946-47. See F. Sanchez-Cantón, 'Un Gran Cuadro de van der Weyden Resucitado', in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 59 ff.

34. In the original edition: *Froiments*, a misprint for *Froimont*.

35. The reverse shows a *Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns*, apparently from Rogier's workshop (Plate 56). See M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 3), Antwerp, 1954, pp. 197-198.

36. See Vol. VI, No. 48.

37. For the reconstitution of a lost composition including these two fragments and the *Magdalen Reading* in London, see No. 12 and Note 23.

38. A recent identification of the sitter is John of Coimbra. See G. van Camp, 'Portraits de Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or aux Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1953, pp. 87-91.

39. Middelburg in Flanders. This little known Belgian town is often confused with Middelburg in Zealand, Isle of Walcheren, the Netherlands.

40. Transferred to canvas (Suppl. Vol. XIV, 1937).

41. See also Vol. VI, No. 117.

42. In the original edition: 529, a misprint for 539.

43. The sitter has been identified as Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy according to the catalogue of the Antwerp Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1958, p. 247.

44. The donor seems to be Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournai, since the portrait resembles the bishop in the altarpiece of the Sacraments in Antwerp (No. 16) (Suppl. Vol. XIV, 1937). In fact, the resemblance is not to the bishop, but to the canon entering the church in the Antwerp altarpiece. See E. Panofsky, 'Two Roger Problems: The Donor of the Hague Lamentation and the Date of the Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments', in *The Art Bulletin*, XXIII, 1951, pp. 33-40. See also p. 93 (Addenda).

45. The panel was cleaned shortly before 1960 (E. Larsen, *Les Primitifs Flamands au Musée Métropolitain de New York*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1960, p. 58). See also Vol. IV, No. 52 and p. 103 of the German edition.

46. When this work received technical attention in 1950, the overpaintings on the mantles of the Virgin—on the three panels—were removed. The altarpiece can now be considered as a remarkably well-preserved work by the master (Letter from B. Heimberg, chief restorer at the Doerner Institut, Munich, 26 October 1966).

47. For the influence of the St. Columba altarpiece on Memling, see Friedländer, 'Noch Erwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, 1946, pp. 15 and 17-18.

48. The painted surfaces of each panel have the same height, 76.5 cm, but the widths differ by 17.8 cm (checked November 1966). The panel of the *Betrothal* has its four original edges. The *Annunciation* panel has been shortened on the right side; the lily in the vase, for example, is incomplete. Both panels are made of three horizontally placed boards. The reverse of the *Annunciation* has been planed. The state of the paintings differs, the *Annunciation* being covered with a brownish varnish.

49. See Vol. VII, No. 129 and Vol. IX, No. 32.

50. In the original edition: 181, a misprint for 180.

51. This altarpiece was cleaned and restored in 1956. See W. Suhr, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XVI, 1957, No. 4, pp. 140 ff. See also Add. No. 155, p. 93.

52. See Vol. IX, No. 184. See also *ibidem*, No. 32. Ambrosius Benson has also used this composition in his altarpiece of Segovia (Vol. XI, No. 232). Cf. J. S. Held, 'Ambroise Benson et le Maître de Flémalle', in *Les Arts Plastiques*, III, 1949, pp. 197-202.

53. See Addenda, No. 154, p. 92. Most art historians believe now that the subject is Robert de Masmines, on the basis of its resemblance to a drawing in the Arras Codex. Friedländer adopted this view in 1937; see p. 55 (Suppl. from Vol. XIV).

54. See Note 55. See also Addenda, No. 156, p. 92.

55. This panel and the preceding one, No. 64, originally formed a diptych, as proved by traces of matching hinges on each panel. See V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 8), Brussels, 1965, pp. 5-20.

56. See Vol. VI, No. 52. The identification with the Cardon painting is erroneous. See H.B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, p. 62. See also p. 93 (Addenda).

57. See Vol. IV, No. 90. See also p. 93 (Addenda).

58. See also Addenda, No. 150, p. 92, and p. 93.

59. See also Vol. IV, pp. 77, 118-119 of the German edition. See p. 93 (Addenda).

60. See Vol. IV, p. 77 of the German edition.

61. See Vol. VIII, No. 125a.

62. See Vol. VIII, No. 125b.

63. See Vol. VIII, No. 125c (= Pl. 101A in the present volume). See also G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, p. 242.

64. See Vol. VIII, No. 125d.

65. See Vol. VI, No. 217.

66. The subject is here transformed into a *Judith Beheading Holofernes*. A version painted on canvas, close to Nos. 75 a and b, and kept in the Justice Court in Bruges, has been published by S. Sulzberger, 'Ajoutes au Catalogue de Ambrosius Benson?', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 187-189 (ill.). Dated 1610 and signed Petrus Pieters; 184 x 175 cm.

67. In the original edition: *xxxi*, a misprint for *xxxix*.
68. See also Vol. *xii*, No. 257.
69. See also Vol. *xii*, No. 255.
70. See Vol. *iv*, No. 25. See also M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 3), 1, Antwerp, 1953, pp. 62-64.
71. The reverse shows Sts. Mary Magdalene and Nicholas, painted in grisaille. The painting has been restored in 1955. See Pl. 106 (before restoration).
72. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57.
73. An early work by Memling (Suppl. Vol. *xiv*, 1937). See also Vol. *vi*, Nos. 99A, B, C, and 32.
74. By Vrancke van der Stockt, see p. 57.
75. Charles de Tolnay, according to the catalogue of *The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*, Vol. II, *Flemish, Dutch, German and Spanish Paintings*, Greenville, S.C., 1962, p. 204 (Nos. 109-110), has sought to identify these wings as the verso panels of the triptych from the Abegg collection at Buonas Castle (see Supp. No. 131, p. 89), now in the Kunstmuseum, Berne.
76. See also Addenda No. 143, p. 91.
77. Only the two angels in flight are missing in the Naples painting.
78. See also Addenda, Nos. 139 and 140, p. 90.
79. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57.
80. Probably identical with the painting exhibited at *Cinq Siècles d'Art*, Brussels, 1935, No. 32 (Brussels, private collection).
81. See Vol. *iv*, No. 23. For Rogier's composition, see also p. 93 (Addenda).
82. See p. 93 (Addenda).
83. See also Vol. *xiv*, p. 94 of the German edition.
84. See Vol. *vii*, No. 61.
85. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57.
86. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57.
87. For the wings of this altarpiece, see Addenda, No. 158, p. 93.
88. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57.
89. This painting is partially the work of Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57. See also Vol. *iv*, No. 56 and Vol. *xiv*, p. 93 of the German edition.
90. This altarpiece has recently been restored and Brussels marks have been discovered on the wooden case of the centre-piece. See E. Schlumberger, 'L'Admirable Retable d'Ambierle Rétabli à sa Place Originelle,' in *Connaissance des Arts*, *clv*, (January) 1965, pp. 22-29.
91. See V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 8), Brussels 1965, pp. 39-61.
92. The statement that there is an escutcheon on the reverse side is an error. This appears rather on the copy in Dublin, No. 106i (Suppl. Vol. *xiv*, 1937). The Boston specimen is identical with Nos. 106e and f (C. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 71-93. See also Note 95.
93. Versions e and f are identical with c (Boston).
94. The arms of Anthony of Burgundy are painted on the reverse side. See No. 106c and Note 92.
95. The specimen in the Boston museum, recently cleaned, is regarded as the original. It is superior, at least, to the one in Munich (Suppl. Vol. *xiv*, 1937). See also Addenda, Nos. 137 and 138, p. 90, and Vol. *iv*, No. 89.
96. In the original edition: *29A*, a misprint for *29*.
97. See also Vol. *ix*, No. 170, and *xi*, No. 236, and Addenda, No. 138, p. 90, and p. 94.
98. Important changes have been observed, with the aid of x-ray and infra-red photography, both in the head of the donor and in the van der Burch coat of arms. See C. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 13-27.
99. By the Master of the Legend of S. Ursula. See Vol. *vi*, No. 120.
100. By Albert Bouts. See Vol. *iii*, No. 66. See also Addenda, p. 94.
101. For more versions derived from this 15th century prototype, see N. Veronée-Verhaegen, 'La Vierge et l'Enfant au Cousin d'après Rogier van der Weyden,' in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, *xv*, 1966, pp. 145 ff. See also Addenda, p. 94.
102. See Vol. *vi*, No. 122, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Friedländer seems to have confused two different panels by the same master, both in the van Gelder collection: one showing the Madonna and Child with eight angels (now in Cambridge), the other showing an angel offering a pear to the Child. See C. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 4), Brussels, 1961, p. 104. For an example by the Master of the Legend of Mary Magdalene see Vol. *xii*, No. 5 (in 1935, in the possession of Knoedler & Co., New York).
103. See also Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling,' in *Oud-Holland*, 1946, pp. 11 ff.
104. See also p. 94 (Addenda).
105. See Vol. *vi*, No. 205.
106. See Vol. *xi*, No. 195.
107. See Vol. *vi*, No. 121.
108. See also Vol. *xiv*, p. 95 of the German edition and p. 94 of the present volume (Addenda).
109. Recently cleaned and identified as an original by Rogier (Suppl. Vol. *xiv*, 1937). See also Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling,' in *Oud-Holland*, 1946, pp. 13-14. See also p. 94 of the present volume (Addenda).
110. See Vol. *vi*, No. 48.
111. See No. 32.
112. See Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas...', in *Oud-Holland*, 1946, pp. 12, 14-15. See also C. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 62-65.
113. In 1961, the painting was cleaned and restored and its true

quality is now more evident. See also Addenda, No. 142, p. 91.

114. See Vol. VIII, No. 94, and Vol. XII, Nos. 6 and 7. See also H. T. Musper, 'Eine Madonna in Gent', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, VI, 1957, pp. 81-86.

115. The donor, a later addition, was removed during a recent restoration.

116. See Vol. XI, No. 190.

117. By Vrancke van der Stockt. See p. 57 (Suppl. Vol. XIV).

118. See No. 6 and Note 19.

119. See No. 9a and Note 20.

120. See No. 87a and Note 75.

121. After the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (Vol. IV, No. 85a).

122. After the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (Vol. IV, No. 85b).

123. Some paintings are not mentioned here though they were published after 1937, especially when the proof exists that Friedländer knew of their existence but did not judge necessary to have them included in his catalogues.

124. F. Winkler, 'Weyden, Rogier van der (Rogier de le Pasture)', in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler... Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, XXXV, Leipzig, 1942, pp. 468-476; and 'Meister von Flémalle', *Ibidem*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 98-101.

125. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge Mass., 1953.

126. *L'Oeuvre de Rogier de le Pasture van der Weyden (Exposition Réalisée à l'Occasion du 500e Anniversaire de la Mort de Rogier de le Pasture van der Weyden par le Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture)*, Brussels, 1964. About the International Colloquium held in Brussels in commemoration of the same anniversary, see Note 202.

127. E. Renders, *La Solution du Problème van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin*, Bruges, 1931. Friedländer first adopted Renders's point of view in an article entitled 'Flémalle Meister Dämmerung' published in *Pantheon*, 1931, pp. 353-355.

128. J. Lavalleye, 'La Peinture et l'Enluminure des Origines à la Fin du XVe Siècle', in *L'Art en Belgique du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (ed. by P. Fierens), Brussels, 1938, pp. 123-126. In a second (1947) and in a third (1955) edition, the author expresses the same point of view. He agreed with Renders's solution as early as 1933 ('Le Problème Maître de Flémalle-Rogier van der Weyden', in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XII, 1933, pp. 791-805) and again in 1935 ('Essai de Classement de quelques Oeuvres de Jeunesse de Rogier van der Weyden', in *Annales de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*, XXXe Congrès. Bruxelles. Juillet-Août 1935, pp. 32-40). Recently, Professor Lavalleye has summarized the question and proposed scientific examination of the works as the way to finally reach a solution; see 'Le Problème Maître de Flémalle-Rogier Van der Weyden. Méthode proposée pour tenter d'aboutir à une solution' (*Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Burgondo-Médianes*), No. 8, 1966, pp. 50-52.

129. L. Beyaert-Carlier, *Le Problème van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin*, Brussels, 1937.

130. T. Musper, *Untersuchungen zu Rogier van der Weyden und Jan van Eyck*, Stuttgart, 1948.

131. J. Maquet-Tombu, 'L'Intimisme de Roger "Maître de Flémalle"', in *Annales du Congrès Archéologique et Historique de Tournai*, 1949 (Offprint, p. 1-12); and 'Autour de la Descendance de Croix de Roger', in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, 1949, p. 1 ff.

132. W. R. Valentiner, 'Rogier van der Weyden, "The Mass of St. Gregory"', in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 240-243.

133. V. Denis, 'Un Nouvel Argument en Faveur de l'Unité de l'Oeuvre de Rogier van der Weyden', in *Annales de la Fédération Historique et Archéologique de Belgique*, XXXVe Congrès. Courtrai, 26-30 juillet 1953, pp. 541-547.

134. R. M. Tovell, *Rogier van der Weyden and the Flémalle Enigma*, Toronto, 1955.

135. G. Hulin de Loo, 'Rogier van der Weyden', in *Biographie Nationale... de Belgique*, Brussels, XXVII, 1938, col. 222 ff.

136. C. de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939.

137. H. Beenken, 'Rogier van der Weyden und Jan van Eyck', in *Pantheon*, XXXV, 1940, pp. 129-137; and *Rogier van der Weyden*, Munich, 1951.

138. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und Seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, pp. 58-65; and *Die Grossen Meister der Niederländischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1939.

139. L. van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Primitives*, Brussels, 1948.

140. See Note 124.

141. See Note 125.

142. J. G. van Gelder, 'An Early Work by Robert Campin', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXII, 1967, pp. 3-11.

143. M. S. Frinta, *The Genius of Robert Campin*, The Hague, 1966.

144. M. Davies, 'National Gallery Notes. III. Netherlandish Primitives: Rogier van der Weyden and Robert Campin', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, pp. 140-145; and *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1945, pp. 15-17 and 110-111; 2d ed. 1955, pp. 18-19 and 124-126.

145. E. Larsen, *Les Primitifs Flamands au Musée Métropolitain de New York*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1960.

146. P. Rolland's article, 'Les Impératifs Historiques de la Biographie de Roger', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 145-161, demonstrates the difficulty of historical interpretation in this problem. See also T. H. Feder, 'A Reexamination through Documents of the First Fifty Years of Roger van der Weyden's Life', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 416-431.

147. J. Folie, 'Les Oeuvres Authentifiées des Primitifs Flamands', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, VI, 1963, pp. 207-212.

148. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, pp. 168-169.

149. *Ibidem*, pp. 299-302.

150. F. Winkler, '(Rezensionen) Erwin Panofsky; *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character...*', in *Kunstchronik* (Munich), VIII, 1955, p. 23.

151. An interesting attempt to juxtapose all the important works by using lifesize photographs complemented with the projection of color slides of details was done by the Belgian Ministry of Education and Culture on the occasion of the fifth centenary of Rogier's death. This exhibition was held in Tournai in 1964 and has since then been in Mons, Louvain, Lille, Beaune, Warsaw etc. For the handbook published to accompany it, see Note 126.

152. J. Taubert, 'Die Beiden Marienaltäre des Rogier van der Weyden', in *Pantheon*, II, 1960, pp. 67-75.

153. R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I, *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 6), Antwerp, 1963, pp. 101-103.

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Index of Places

105

- R. = Rogier van der Weyden
M.F. = Master of Flémalle
V.S. = Vrancke van der Stockt
R.F. = Follower of Rogier van der Weyden

Numbers refer to the Catalogues, unless stated differently.

AACHEN, Suermondt Museum

- R. (after, by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula) Madonna at Half-Length: see 109

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Musée Granet

- M.F. Virgin Enthroned in Heaven with Sts. Peter and Augustine and a Donor: 66

ALTENA, Thomée collection

- R. (copy) Nativity: 38b

ALTONA, Exhibition, 1914

- R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108h

AMBIBLERE, near Roanne, France, Priory church

- R.F. Six Shutters of an Altarpiece with Donors and Saints: 105

AMSTERDAM, Rijksmuseum

- R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108n

—, Königs collection, see ROTTERDAM, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (Add. 146a)

—, Prof. Lanz collection

- M.F. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 60b

—, Mr. and Mrs H. Wetzlar collection

- R.F. Virgin with Sts. John the Baptist, Peter, Cosmas and Damian: 122 and p. 57

—, P. Cassirer Gallery, see HOUSTON, Museum of Fine Arts (35)

—, Onnes Auction, see OBRAS, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (36)

—, Auction at Fr. Muller's, 1926

- R.F. (V.S) Resurrection: 100 and p. 57

ANTWERP, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

- R. Annunciation: 10

- R. Altarpiece of the Sacraments: 16

- R. Portrait of Philip de Croy: 39

- R. Portrait of a Man: 44

- R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length (panel of a diptych): 107d

- R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: 125c

- R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good (with a large hat): 125e

—, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

- R.F. Lamentation: 99 and p. 57

—, Cathedral

- R.F. Betrothal of the Virgin: 84

—, René della Faille collection

- M.F. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: see 76

—, Private collection, see GREENVILLE, S.C., The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings (75c)

BANBURY, Bearsted collection (Upton House, National Trust)

- R. Portrait of a Man: 45

- R.F. Jesus and St. John the Baptist, Jesus at the House of Martha: 86

- R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 115

BASLE, Dr. Wendland collection, see CASTAGNOLA, Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza) (32)

BEAUNE, Hôtel-Dieu

- R. Polyptych of the Last Judgment: 14

BELGIUM, Private collection

- R. (after) Virgin and Child at Half-Length: Add. 138

BERGAMO, Accademia Carrara di Belle Arti

- R.F. St. Jerome with the Lion: Add. 143

BERLIN, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen (Berlin-Dahlem)

- R. So-called Miraflores Altarpiece: 1a

- R. St. John Altarpiece: 2

- R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 3a

- R. Portrait of a Woman: 4

- R. Sts. Margaret and Apollonia: 17

- R. (copy) Lamentation: 20b

- R. Bladelin Altarpiece: 38

- R. Portrait of Charles the Bold: 42

- R. Madonna at Half-Length: 43

- M.F. Madonna of the Grassy Nook: 50

- M.F. Portrait of a Fat Man: 61
 M.F. Portrait of a Man: 62
 M.F. (?) Christ on the Cross with Mourners: 68
 M.F. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: 76a
 Daret. Visitation with Donor: 78
 Daret. Adoration of the Magi: 81
 R.F. Last Judgment: 102 and p. 37
- , Kupferstichkabinett
 R. Drawing. Half-Length Figure of a Man: p. 49
- , Kaiser Friedrich Museum
 M.F. (copy) Vengeance of Tomyris (now destroyed): 73a
 R.F. Virgin with Saints and Donors (now destroyed): 121c
 See also Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin [East]
- , Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin [East]
 R. (copy) Angel from the Annunciation: 9a
- , Hess collection, see HOUSTON, Museum of Fine Arts (35)
- , M. Jaffé collection
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109c
- , Collection of Privy Councillor W. Müller, see TOLEDO, Ohio, Museum of Arts (74i)
- , Prof. Sarre collection (Neubabelsberg)
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108g
- , E. Schweitzer collection
 M.F. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 59b
- , Dr. Springer collection
 R. Madonna at Half-Length: 110a
- , Private collection
 M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74b
- , Emden auction, 1910
 R. (copy, by van Orley?) Madonna at Half-Length: 107m
- , Auction at Lepke's, 1911
 R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 110a
- , Art market, 1924
 R.F. Jesus in Half-Length Giving the Blessing: 124b
- BERNE, Historisches Museum
 M.F. (after) Embroidery of a cope: Trinity and Sacraments: see 71 and p. 70

- , Kunstmuseum, Abegg-Stiftung
 R. Triptych with a Crucifixion: Supp. 131

- BONN, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
 R. (copy) Angel from the Annunciation: see BERLIN, Bode-Museum (9a)
 R.F. Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John: 89

- BOSTON, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts
 R. St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106c
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 111

- BRUGES, Academy, see Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (125g)

- , Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)
 R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: 125g

- , Church of St. Sauveur (Museum)
 M.F. (copy) Crucifixion: 59c
 R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97d

- , Seminary
 R. (partial copy) Angel in a Triptych of the Last Supper: see 19

- , Renders collection
 R. (copy) Mary Magdalene: 26a
 R. Madonna at Half-Length, see TOURNAI, Musée des Beaux-Arts (29)

- BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
 R. (partial copy) Descent from the Cross: 3m and 3n
 R. (copy) Lamentation: 20a
 R. Fragment with a Group of Men: 24
 R. Portrait of Laurent Froimont: 30
 R. Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece, Holding an Arrow: 37
 M.F. (copy) Annunciation: 54b
 M.F. (copy?) Portraits of Bartholomew Alatrue and Marie Pacy: 69
 M.F. (copy) The Almighty with the Body of Christ and Four Angels: 71b
 R.F. Sforza Altarpiece: 93
 R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107a
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108a
 M.F. (?) Mass of Pope Gregory: Add. 150

- , Ministry of National Education and Culture
 R.F. Holy Family: 121c

- , Georges Bautier collection
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109b

—, Cardon collection, see INDIANAPOLIS, the Clowes Fund (33)

—, B. Dierckx de Casterlé collection

R. (copy) Sts. Margaret and Apollonia: 17a

—, Collection of the late Baronne Gendebien

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74d

R.F. Madonna of Humility: Add. 151

—, Dr. Jamar collection

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 117

—, Lyndhurst collection

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108b

—, Laurent Meeus collection (formerly)

R.F. Descent from the Cross: 96

—, De Meulenaere collection

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97h

—, Mme Jos. Fiévez Gallery

R.F. St. John the Baptist: 104

—, Robert Finck Gallery, see BELGIUM, private collection (Add. 138)

BUDAPEST, Museum of Fine Arts

R. (copy) Two Male Heads: 128

BUONAS, Lake of Zug

Abegg collection, see BERNE, Kunstmuseum (Supp. 131)

CÁDIZ, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes

M.F., copy by B. van Orley, Virgin in the Apse: see 74

CAEN, Collections Municipales, Collection Mancel

R. Madonna at Half-Length: 31

—, Mancel collection, see Collection Municipales (31)

CAMBRIDGE, The Fitzwilliam Museum

M.F. (after) Drawing after the St. Veronica in Frankfurt: see 60

M.F. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: see 76

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

R. (after, by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula) Madonna at Half-Length: 108

See also Busch-Reisinger Museum

—, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length (panel of a diptych): 107c

CASSEL, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

M.F. (copy) Annunciation: 54a

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107b

CASTAGNOLA, near Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation)

R. Madonna, Seated: 8

R. Portrait of a Man: 32, see also 110

Daret. Nativity: 79

M.F. (copy) Portrait of a Fat Man: Add. 154

CHANTILLY, Musée Condé (Institut de France)

R.F. Diptych, Crucifixion and Female Donor: 88

CHESTERFIELD, near St. Louis, Mo. Leicester B. Faust collection

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 119

CHICAGO, Art Institute

R. Madonna at Half-Length: 27

R. Portrait of Jean de Gros: 28

—, Mrs. Max Epstein collection

M.F. (copy, by Gerard David) Virgin in the Apse: see 74

—, M. Ryerson collection, see Art Institute (27, 28)

CHUR, Switzerland, Episcopal collection

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74m

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Museum of Art

M.F. Fragment, St. John the Baptist: Add. 149

COBURG, Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg

R. (after, engraving by C. Cort) Descent from the Cross: 31

COLOGNE, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum

R. (copy by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine) Descent from the Cross: Add. 146

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross (no longer there): 97b

—, Kunstgewerbemuseum

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108m

—, Brade-Wagner auction, at Lempertz

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97f

DARMSTADT, Hessisches Landesmuseum

R. (after) Engraving by the Master of the Banderoles: Madonna, Seated with the Child who holds a Flower: 120a

R.F. Madonna with the Standing Child (no longer there): 121f

DESSAU, Castle

See WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art (29A)

DETROIT, The Institute of Arts

R. St. Jerome and the Lion: Supp. 133
 R. (after) Group from a Sculptured Altarpiece. Descent from the Cross: Add. 139

DIJON, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Etats de Bourgogne
 M.F. Nativity: 53
 V.S. Annunciation: Add. 160

DONAUSCHINGEN, Fürstl. Fürstenberg, Institut für Kunst und Wissenschaft, see BERLIN, Dr. Springer collection (110a)

DORTMUND, Cremer collection
 R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107m

DOUAI, Musée
 F.M. (copy) Madonna Enthroned: 66a

DRESDEN, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
 R.F. Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene: 90

—, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett
 R. (after) Drawing of the Madonna with the Standing Child: 121b

—, Private collection
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 110c

DUBLIN, The National Gallery of Ireland
 R. (copy) St. Luke, at Half-Length: 106i

ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek
 M.F. (copy) Drawing after the Merode Annunciation: 54c

EL ESCORIAL, Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo
 R. Descent from the Cross (on exhibition at the Prado): 3
 R. Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John: 25
 R. (copy) Virgin and St. John from a Crucifixion: 25a
 R.F. Presentation of the Virgin: 83 and p. 57
 See also MADRID, Museo del Prado

FIESOLE, Museo Bandini (on loan from the Cathedral)
 R.F. Jesus Shown to the People (shutters): 87 and p. 57

—, Cathedral, see Museo Bandini (87)

FLORENCE, Galleria degli Uffizi
 R. Lamentation before the Tomb: 22

—, Bardini Gallery, see GREENVILLE, The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings (87a)

FRANKFURT-ON-MAIN, Städelches Kunstinstitut
 R. (copy) St. John Altarpiece: 2a

R. Virgin with Four Saints (Medici Madonna): 21
 M.F. Fragment with the Good Thief: 59
 M.F. Three Panels from the Abbey of Flémalle: 60
 R. (copy? by Garofalo) Holy Family: 123a

—, Prestel auction
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 112

—, Art Market, 1920
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108i

FREIBURG, Private collection
 R. (copy) Virgin and Child in Full-Length, with Angels: Supp. 132b

GENOA, Private collection
 M.F. (copy) Annunciation: Add. 155

GLASGOW, Mann collection, see LONDON, Auction at Sotheby's, 1929 (bought by D. Croll Thompson) (741)

GOTHA, Schloss Museum
 R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good (no longer there): 125b

GRANADA, Capilla Real
 R. Altarpiece of the Virgin (2 panels): 1

GREENVILLE S.C., The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings
 M.F. (copy) Judith and Holophernes: 75c
 R.F. Jesus Shown to the People (Shutters): 87a and p. 57
 R.F. Jesus in Half-Length Giving the Blessing: 124a
 M.F. (XVth c. version) Virgin by the Fireplace: Add. 156

THE HAGUE, Mauritshuis, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen
 R. Lamentation: 46

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle
 R. (engraving by the Master of the Banderoles) Descent from the Cross: 3k

—, Weber auction
 R. (copy) Nativity, see ALTENA, Thomée collection (38b)
 M.F. (copy) Mass of Pope Gregory, see NEW YORK, Acquavella Gallery (73a)

HARTKAMP, near Haarlem, von Pannwitz collection (formerly)
 R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107e
 R. (copy by Isenbrant) Madonna with the Standing Child, see NEW YORK, Rosenberg and Stiebel Gallery (121g)

HOOGSTRAETEN, Belgium, Church
 Daret follower. Legend of St. Joseph: 82

HOUSTON, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts
R. Madonna at Half-Length: 35
R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length, tondo: 107n

INDIANAPOLIS, The Clowes Fund
R. Portrait of a Young Man: 33

KIBV, National Museum of Fine Arts
V.S. Shutters: Adam and Eve Mourning over the Body of Abel;
Jacob's Grief at the Sight of the Robes of Joseph: p. 57

LEIPZIG, Museum der Bildenden Künste
R. Visitation: 5

—, F. Becker collection (formerly)
R. (after) Drawing, Christ Carrying the Cross: Add. 144

LENINGRAD, The Hermitage
M.F. Virgin by the Fireplace: 64
M.F. Holy Trinity: 65
R. (copy) St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106b

LILLE, Palais des Beaux-Arts
R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108k
R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: 125d

LISBON, J. Moreira collection
M.F. (copy) Mass of Pope Gregory: 73b

LIVERPOOL, Walker Art Gallery
M.F. (copy) Triptych with the Descent from the Cross: 59a

LONDON, National Gallery
R. Mary Magdalene Reading: 12
R. Exhumation of St. Hubert: 18
R. Lamentation: 20
R. Portrait of a Woman: 34
M.F. Two Portraits, a Man and a Woman: 55
M.F. Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen: 58
M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74f and g
M.F. (?) Death of the Virgin: 77
M.F. Portrait of a Man: Add. 148

—, British Museum
R. (?) Drawing, Mary Magdalene: see 26
R. (after) Drawing, Mary Magdalene: see 26

—, Buckingham Palace
R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 98a

—, Bridgewater House
R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 3f

—, J. P. Heseltine collection, see PARIS, Baron M. de Rothschild collection (127)

—, Lady Evelyn Mason collection, see WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art (Supp. 130)

—, Lord Northbrook collection, see CASTAGNOLA, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation) (8)

—, Earl of Powis collection, see National Gallery (20)

—, Lord Radcliffe collection, see Auction at Christie's, 26th June 1939 (Add. 137)

—, W. Samuel collection, see BANBURY, Upton House, Bearsted collection (45, 46)

—, Count A. Seilern collection
M.F. Triptych of the Entombment: Add. 147

—, Auction at Christie's, 26th June 1939
R. (copy) Virgin, Seated, Nursing the Child: Add. 137

—, Auction at Sotheby's, 1929 (bought by D. Croal Thompson)
M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74l

—, Auction at Sotheby's, 1962
M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74c

—, Buttery Gallery, 1898, see NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (107g)

—, Conalghi Gallery, see MAIDENHEAD THICKET, Thomas Merton collection (Supp. 134)

—, Dowdeswells Gallery, 1904
R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length, tondo, see HOUSTON, Museum of Fine Arts (107n)

—, Dowdeswells Gallery
R.F. Madonna at Half-Length, see NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (108l)

—, Spanish Art Gallery
R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109f
R.F. Madonna at Half-Length, see YORK, City Art Gallery (114)
R.F. Madonna with the Standing Child, 121d

—, Art market, 1923
M.F. (copy, by G. David) Virgin in the Apse, see Chicago, Mrs. Max Epstein collection
R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108c

LOPPHEM (Belgium), Private collection

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74h

LOUVAIN, Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens

M.F. (copy) The Almighty with the Body of Christ and Four Angels: 71a

—, Church of St. Peter

R. (copy) Edelheer Altarpiece: 3e

R.M. (copy) The Almighty with the Body of Christ (outside of the Edelheer Altarpiece): 71c

LUCERNE, Chillingworth auction, see NEW YORK, Mrs. John Magnin collection

—, Steinmeyer Gallery

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length with Two Angels: 113

LUGANO, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), see CASTAGNOLA

LÜTZSCHENA, near Leipzig, Speck von Sternburg collection, see LEIPZIG, Museum der Bildenden Künste (5)

MADRID, Museo del Prado (see also EL ESCORIAL)

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross (on exhibition at the Escorial): 3b

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 3c

R. (copy) Lamentation: 20d

R. (?) So-called Cambrai Altarpiece: 47 and p. 57

M.F. Betrothal of the Virgin: 51

M.F. (?) Annunciation: 52

M.F. Shutters of the Werl Altarpiece: 67

M.F. (copy, by B. van Orley) Virgin in the Apse: see 74

R.F. Christ on the Cross with Mourners: 91

R. Madonna in a Niche: Supp. 132

—, Palacio Nacional

R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: 125a

—, Museo Lázaro-Galdiano

R. (partial copy) Descent from the Cross: 31

M.F. (copy) Virgin at Half-Length: 60a

R. (copy, by Quentin Metsys) Descent from the Cross: 98c

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107l

R. (after, by Gerard David) Madonna at Half-Length: see 109

R. (copy) St. Luke at Half-Length: 106h

—, Museo de la Trinidad

R. St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106e, f (= c)

—, Marquesa de Camporreal collection

V.S. Lazarus Raised from the Dead: p. 57

—, Lázaro collection, see Museo Lázaro-Galdiano

—, Duques de Mandas collection

R. (copy) Lamentation, see Museo del Prado (20d)

—, J. M. Orue collection (1953)

R. (copy) Madonna: 40a, b

—, Traumann collection

R. (copy) Madonna, see J. M. Orue collection (40a, b)

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length (no longer there): 108d

R. (after, by G. David) Madonna at Half-Length, see Museo Lázaro-Galdiano

—, Private collection

M.F. (copy by M. Coffermans) Trinity: see 71

V.S. Adoring Angel; Angel Playing the Harp: Add. 159

R.F. (V.S.) Shutters from the Last Judgment Altarpiece, Heaven and Hell: Add. 158

MAIDENHEAD THICKET, Great Britain, Thomas Merton collection, Stubbings House

R. Portrait of a Man: Supp. 134

MILAN, Crespi collection

R. Holy Family with S. Paul and a Donor, see NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (40A)

—, Genolini auction, 1901, see MUNICH, Gebhardt Galerie (107k)

MINNEAPOLIS, Institute of Arts, see NEW YORK, Julius Weitzner Gallery (74a)

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)

R. St. Columba Altarpiece: 49

R.F. Descent from the Cross: 95 and p. 57

R. (copy) St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106a

—, F. von Lenbach collection

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109g

—, J. Bühler Gallery

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109d

—, A.S. Drey Gallery, 1908, See PARIS, C.S. auction, 1923 (107f)

—, Gebhardt Gallery

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107k

—, Auction from the Berlin Museums, 1937

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse, see LONDON, Auction at Sotheby's, 1962 (74c)

NAPLES, Museo Nazionale

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 94b

—, Private collection

R. (copy) Lamentation: 20c

NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

R. Christ Appears to His Mother: 1

R. Portrait of Lionello d'Este: 23

R. Holy Family with St. Paul and a Donor: 40A

R. Annunciation: 48

M.F. (copy) Madonna (tondo): 70a

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74c

R.F. Crucifixion of St. Peter and a Donor; St. Anthony and a Female Donor (Shutters): 103

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107g

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108l

R. Portrait of a Man with a Pink: Supp. 135

—, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters

M.F. Triptych with the Annunciation (so-called Merode Altarpiece): 54

—, New York Historical Society

R.F. Christ on the Cross with Mourners: 92

—, The Pierpont Morgan Library

M.F. (after) Miniature from the Arenberg Book of Hours. Descent from the Cross: see 59 and Add. 157

—, Bache collection, see The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Supp. 135)

—, E.A. Faust collection, see CHESTERFIELD, Mo, Leicester B. Faust collection (119)

—, Friedsam collection

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length, see BANBURY, Bearsted collection (115)

R. Dream of Pope Sergius, erroneously, see Schiff collection (119)
See also The Metropolitan Museum of Art (23, 40A, 70a, 103)

—, Huntington collection, see SAN MARINO, Calif., Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (40)

—, Mrs. John E. Magnin collection

M.F. Portrait of a Man: 63

—, Morgan collection

Daret. Nativity, see CASTAGNOLA, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation) (79)

—, von Pannwitz collection

R. Dream of Pope Sergius: 19

R. (after, by A. Isenbrant) Madonna at Half-Length, see Rosenberg and Stiebel Gallery (121g)

—, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. collection

R. Portrait of a Mature Woman: 13

—, Schiff collection

R. Dream of Pope Sergius, see von Pannwitz collection (19)

—, Acquavella Gallery

M.F. (copy) Mass of Pope Gregory: 73a

—, Demotte Gallery (?)

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107h

—, Duveen Gallery

R. (?) Christ Appearing to His Mother, see WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art (1)

—, Ehrich Gallery

R. (copy) Nativity: 38a

—, Kleinberger Gallery

R. (copy) Virgin and Child in Full-Length: Supp. 132a

—, Knoedler, Gallery see OBRAS, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (36)

—, Rosenberg and Stiebel Gallery

R. (copy, by Isenbrant) Madonna with the Standing Child: 121g

—, Julius H. Weitzner Gallery

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74a

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 116

—, Art market, 1936

R. St. Jerome Drawing a Thorn from the Paw of the Lion, see DETROIT, The Institute of Arts (Supp. 133)

—, Art market

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse, see PHILADELPHIA, John G. Johnson Collection (74k)

R. (copy) Virgin and Child in Full-Length, see Kleinberger Gallery (Supp. 132a)

NUREMBERG, Germanisches National Museum

R. (after) Angel of the Annunciation: Add. 141

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse, and

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length, see NEW YORK, Julius Weitzner Gallery (174A, 116)

OBERLIN, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum

v.s. Donor and St. John the Baptist: p. 57

OBRAS (Portugal) Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

R. Two Fragments from a Nativity: 36

OLDENBURG, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte
M.F. (copy, by B. van Orley) Virgin in the Apse: see 74

OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University
R.F. Drawing of the Trinity and the Sacraments: see 65, 71 and p. 70

PARIS, Musée du Louvre

R. Annunciation: 9

R. Triptych with Christ between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist; St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene: 26

M.F. (copy, by Colyn de Coter) The Almighty with the Body of Christ and Four Angels: see 71

R. (after) Tapestry with St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106g

R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: 125f

See also Bibliothèque Nationale

—, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins

M.F. (copy) Drawing of a Madonna with Saints and Donors: 72a

R. (copy?) Drawing of the Descent from the Cross: 94a

R. (?) Drawing of the Head of the Virgin: p. 48

R.F. Drawings of two Sacrament Scenes: p. 50

—, Petit Palais

Daret. Presentation of Christ: 80

—, Musée Jacquemart-André

R. (copy) Portrait of Philip the Good: see 125

—, Bibliothèque Nationale

R. (copy) Portrait of the Duke of Cleves (on loan to the Musée du Louvre): 126a

—, Albert Bossy collection, see BRUSSELS, collection of the late Baronne Gendebien (74d)

—, Carvalho collection

R. (copy) Madonna with the Standing Child: 121a

—, Heugel collection, see BRUSSELS, Baudouin Dierckx de Casterlé collection (17a)

—, Pelletier collection

R.F. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 119a

—, Collection of Baron Maurice de Rothschild

R. Portrait of a Mature Woman, see NEW YORK, collection of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. (13)

R. Fragment with a Portrait of a Woman: 127

—, Ad. Schloss collection, see BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (24)

—, Cernuschi auction, see BRUSSELS, Ministry of National Edu-

cation and Culture (121e)

—, F. Doistau auction

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97i

—, Haro auction, see Musée Jacquemart-André (125)

—, P.M. (ersch) auction, see BRUSSELS, Robert Finck Gallery (117)

—, J.N. (ormand) auction, 1923, see NEW YORK, Demotte Gallery (107h)

—, AL. Orlof auction

R. (copy) Lamentation: 1b

—, F. Ravaisson-Mollien auction

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74f, g

—, Richtenberger auction, see LOPPEM, private collection (74h)

—, C. S. auction, 1923

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 107f

—, Sedelmeyer auction

R. (copy) Annunciation: 9b

—, Marquis de Victoire de Heredia auction

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: see 74

—, Zélikine auction

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97g

—, Bourgeois Gallery, see CHESTERFIELD, Mo., Leicester B. Faust collection (119)

See also BRUSSELS, Mme Jos. Fiévez Gallery (104)

—, Stora Gallery, see PHILADELPHIA, John G. Johnson Collection (132d)

—, Moreno Gallery

R. (copy) Virgin and Child in Full-Length, see PRINCETON, New Jersey, Art Museum (Supp. 132 c)

See also BRUSSELS, Laurent Meeus collection (96)

—, Wildenstein Gallery

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109a

See also WASHINGTON, Dumbarton Oaks Foundation (57)

—, Art market, 1924

R.F. Shutters, Crucifixion of St. Peter; Annunciation, see NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (103)

PAU, Don Sebastian collection

R. St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106e, f (= c)

PEPINCHEM, Belgium, Camberlyn d'Amougies collection, see
AMSTERDAM, Auction at Fr. Muller's, 1926 (100)

PETWORTH, Collection of Lord Leconfield, see John Wyndham
collection (129)

—, John Wyndham collection

R. Fragments: Donor with St. James and the Virgin of the An-
nunciation: Supp. 129

PHILADELPHIA, John G. Johnson Collection

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 3h

R. Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St. John: 15

R. (copy) Madonna: 40A, a

M.F. Christ Giving the Blessing and the Virgin at Prayer: 56

M.F. (copy) Madonna (tondo): 70b

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74k

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 118

R. (copy by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage) Virgin and
Child in Full-Length: Supp. 132d

PRAGUE, von Hoschek collection, see GREENVILLE, The Bob
Jones University, Collection of Religious Paintings (124a)

PRINCETON, New Jersey, Art Museum

R. (copy) Virgin and Child in Full-Length: Supp. 132c

LEPUY, Cathedral, Treasury

M.F. (follower) Holy Family: Add. 153

RICHMOND, Sir H. Cook collection, see AMSTERDAM, Mr. and
Mrs. H. Wetzlar collection (122)

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Rochester Memorial Art Gallery

V.S. Female Donor and S. Margaret: p. 57

LE ROEBULX, Castle

R. (copy) Portrait of Philip de Croy: see 39

ROTTERDAM, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

R. (copy) Drawing after the Exhumation of St. Hubert: see 18

R. Drawing. Virgin and Child in Full-Length: Add. 146A

SAN DIEGO, Calif., Museum of Fine Arts

R.F. Lamentation: Add. 136

SAN MARINO, Calif., Henry E. Huntington Library and Art
Gallery

R. Madonna at Half-Length: 40

SANSANO, near Florence, Church, see FIESOLE, Bandini Mu-
seum (8f)

ST. PETERSBURG, see LENINGRAD

SIGMARINGEN, Fürstliches Hohenzollernsches Museum

R. (copy) Madonna at Half-Length: 35a

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse, see LONDON, Auction at Sothe-
by's, 1962 (74e)

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross (no longer there): 98b

STOCKHOLM, Nationalmuseum

R. (after) Drawing. Virgin and Child with Saints: Add. 145

—, O. Kling collection see NEW YORK, Acquavella Gallery (73a)

STRASBOURG, Musée de la ville

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross (now destroyed): 94d

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97c

SURESNES, near Paris, Nardus collection, see OBIRAS, Calouste
Gulbenkian Foundation (36)

TOLEDO, Ohio, Museum of Art

M.F. (copy) Virgin in the Apse: 74i

TOURNAI, Musée des Beaux-Arts

R. Madonna at Half-Length: 29

R.F. (copy) Madonna, at Half-Length: Add. 142

TURIN, Galleria Sabauda

R. Visitation and Donor: 6

UGGLE, near Brussels, Van Gelder collection

R. (after, by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula) Madonna at
Half-Length, see CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Fogg Art Museum (108)

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length, see BRUSSELS, Lyndhurst collec-
tion (108b)

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 109c

UTRECHT, Archiepiscopal Museum

M.F. (partial copy, by Jacob van Amsterdam) Adoration of the
Magi: see 76b

VADUZ, Liechtenstein, Count Ferdinand Wilczek collection

R. (copy) St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 106d

VALENCIA, Capilla del Milagro, see Ayunta-
miento (City Hall) (101)

—, Ayuntamiento (City Hall)

R.F. Last Judgment: 101 and p. 57

VENICE, Cavaliere Salvatore Arbib auction

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97c

VERONA, Musci e Gallerie d'Arte

M.F. (copy) Sibyl at Half-Length: 57a
 M.F. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: 76b

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum

R. Madonna Standing; St. Catherine: 7
 R. Triptych with Christ on the Cross and Mourners: 11
 F.M. (after, partly) Trinity, in an antependium of the Golden
 Fleece Order: see 71
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108f

—, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste
 M.F. (copy) Vengeance of Tomyris: 75b

—, Czernin collection

R.F. Presentation, see WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art
 (85)

—, Dr. Jurié de Lavandal collection (formerly)
 R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 97a

—, von Osmütz collection
 R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 108c

—, Count Wilczek collection, see VADUZ, Count Ferdinand
 Wilczek collection (107d)

—, Klinkosch auction, see Dr. Alois Spitzer auction (94c)

—, Dr. Alois Spitzer auction
 R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 94c

—, Art Market

R. (copy) Descent from the Cross: 38
 M.F. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: see 76

WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art

R. Portrait of a Woman: 29A
 R. Christ Appearing to His Mother: 41
 R.F. Presentation: 85
 R. St. George, Mounted: Supp. 130
 M.F. (studio?) Virgin and Child with Saints: Add. 152

—, Dumbarton Oaks Foundation

M.F. Sibyl at Half-Length: 57

—, S.H. Kress collection, see National Gallery of Art (85, Add.
 152)

—, Mellon collection, see National Gallery of Art (29A, 41)

WATERVLIET, Belgium, Church of Our Lady

R. (copy by the Master of Frankfurt) Lamentation: Add. 137

WESTERLOO-TONGERLOO, Belgium, Comtesse de Merode
 collection, see NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 The Cloisters (54)

YORK, City Art Gallery

R.F. Madonna at Half-Length: 114

ZURICH, Coray Stoop collection, see BERLIN, Private collection
 (74b)

Plates

PHOTOGRAPHS

Unless listed below, photos were supplied by the museums, institutions or collectors owning the works. Numbers within brackets refer to the catalogues.

A.C.L., Brussels: 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16 (10), 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 41 (20a), 43, 44 (24), 46, 47, 48 (26), 50, 52, 53, 56 (34), 57, 58, 63, 65 (44, 45), 74, 77 (Add. 155), 80, 86, (59a), 90 (61), 91 (62), 92, 93, 94, 98 (69), 106 (84), 107 (88), 107 (87), 109 (93), 110 (Add. 139), 110 (94d), 111 (96), 111 (98b), 112 (97d), 113 (99), 113 (100), 114 (Add. 158), 118, 119 (106b), 119 (106d), 120 (107a), 120 (107h), 120 (107c), 121 (108a), 121 (108k), 121 (109b), 123 (115), 123 (116), 124 (Add. 142), 125 (121c), 125 (Add. 138), 127 (125d), 127 (125d), 127 (125d), 127 (125c), 427 (125b), 128 (126a), 129 (A), 138, 139 (add. 136), 142 (Add. 151), 142 (Add. 144), 143 (Add. 160), 144 (A), 144 (B)

Archives photographique-Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques-, Paris: Plates 116, 117

Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Marburg/Lahn: Plates 4 (2a), 126 (123a)

Blinkhorns, Banbury (Oxon): Plate 114 (86)

Bob Jones University, Greenville: Plates 102 (75c), 107 (87a), 126 (124a)

British Museum, London: Plates 48 (A, B), 129 (B)

Brunel, Lugano: Plates 16 (8), 54, 90 (Add. 154), 104 (79)

G. Busch-Hauck, Frankfurt/M.: Plates 42, 88, 89 (60)

A. C. Cooper, Ltd., London: Plate 111 (98a)

Courtauld Institute of Art, London: Plate 133 (Supp. 129)

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Plate 123 (111)

Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago: Plates 49, 51

Courtesy of Mrs. John E. Magnin, New York: Plate 91 (63)

Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City: Plate 108 (92)

Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Plates 99 (B), 130 (H, I), 131 (J, K)

Courtesy of the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia: Plates 32, 33, 81, 98 (70b), 123 (118)

Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: Plates 55, 64 (41), 106 (85), 136, 142 (Add. 152)

A. Dingjan, The Hague: Plate 68 (46)

U. Edelmann FFM, Frankfurt/M.: Plate 87

Grosvenor Photocraft: Plate 139 (Supp. 134)

A. Huck, Strasbourg: Plate 112 (97c)

Kleinhempel, Hamburg: Plate 10 (3k)

Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg: Plate 10 (3i)

Laboratorio Fotografico della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Napoli: Plate 110 (94b)

E. Mandl, Vienne: Plate 102 (75b)

Mas, Barcelona: Plates 45, 64 (40ab), 89 (60a), 101 (A), 111 (98c), 127 (125a), 140 (A)

Fotografia cedida y autorizada por el Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid: Plates 9, 106 (83)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Plates 44 (23), 64 (40a), 69, 77 (54), 78, 79, 98 (70a), 101 (74c), 115, 121 (1081), 139 (supp. 135)

F. Perez Aparisi, Valencia: Plate 114 (101)

Pfauder, Dresden: Plates 108 (90), 125 (211b)

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: Plate 86 (A)

Museo del Prado-Laboratorio Fotografico, Madrid: Plates 6, 7, 41 (20d), 66, 67, 75, 96, 97, 108 (91), 137

Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln: Plates 70 (A), 112 (97b)

Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York: Plate 39

Service de Documentation photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Versailles: Plates 100 (72a), 110 (94a), 130 (G), 131 (L), 132 (B)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (East): Plates 102 (75a), 125 (121c), 133 (9a)

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel: Plate 120 (107b)

Stearn & Sons, Cambridge: Plate 89 (A)

W. Steinkopf, Berlin-Dahlem: Plates 4 (2), 5, 36, 41 (20b), 59, 60, 65 (42), 68 (43), 73, 95, 102 (76a), 104 (78), 105 (81), 113 (102), 129 (C)

Stichting tot bevordering van het Kunsthistorisch onderzoek in Nederland: Plates 106 (104), 112 (97a), 122

Visages de France, Paris: Plate 132 (A)



I A | B | C

I a

1. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Virgin. A and B, *Granada, Capilla Real*; c, *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Michael Dreicer*. 1 a. Rogier, replica. Altarpiece of the Virgin. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



1. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Virgin. Christ Appears to His Mother. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Michael Dreicer*



1 a. Rogier, replica. Altarpiece of the Virgin. Christ Appears to His Mother. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



2. Rogier. St. John Altarpiece. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 2 a. Rogier, copy. St. John Altarpiece. Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut



2. Rogier. St. John Altarpiece. Birth of St. John the Baptist. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



3. Rogier. Descent from the Cross. *Escorial*, exhibited at the *Museo del Prado*, Madrid







3 b. Rogier, copy. *Madrid, Museo del Prado, exhibited at the Escorial*



PECCATA NOSTRA IPSE PERIIT QVO PECCATIS MORTE IUSTITIAE VIDEREMUS

3k
3i

3 k. Engraving after Rogier by the Master of the Banderoles. Descent from the Cross. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle.* 3 i. Engraving after Rogier by C. Cort. Descent from the Cross. *Coburg, Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg*



4. Rogier. Portrait of a Woman. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



5. Rogier. Visitation. *Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste*



6. Rogier. Two Shuttered, Donor and Visitation. *Turin, Galleria Sabauda*. 127. Rogier, follower. Portrait of a Woman. *Paris, Rothschild Collection*



7. Rogier. Madonna, Standing. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



7. Rogier. St. Catherine. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



8. Rogier. *Madonna, Seated*. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation). 10. Rogier (?). *Annunciation*. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.



9. Rogier. Annunciation. Paris, Musée du Louvre



11. Rogier. Triptych with Christ on the Cross and the Mourners. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



11. Rogier. Triptych with Christ on the Cross and the Mourners. Central Panel. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



12. Rogier. Mary Magdalene Reading. Fragment. London, National Gallery



Plate
21



36 | 36

12 | Add. 145

36. Rogier. Heads of a Female Saint and of St. Joseph. Two Fragments. *Oeiras, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.*

12. Rogier. Mary Magdalene Reading, before the cleaning of the background. *London, National Gallery. Add. 145.*
Madonna and Child with Saints. Drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



13. Rogier. Portrait of a Mature Woman. New York, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Collection



14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. *Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu*



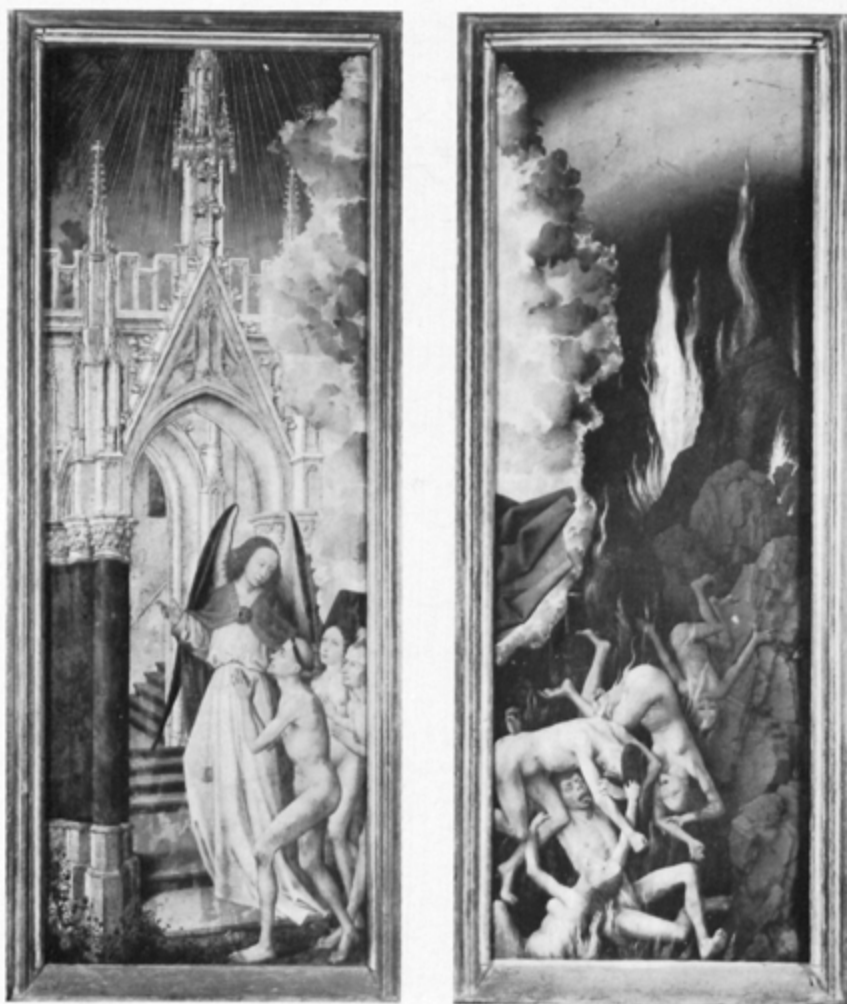
14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece, Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu





14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Panels of St. Peter and the Virgin. *Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu*





14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Panels with Heaven and Hell.
Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu



14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Exterior, in grisaille, Annunciation, Sts. Sebastian and Anthony. Beaune, *Hôtel-Dieu*



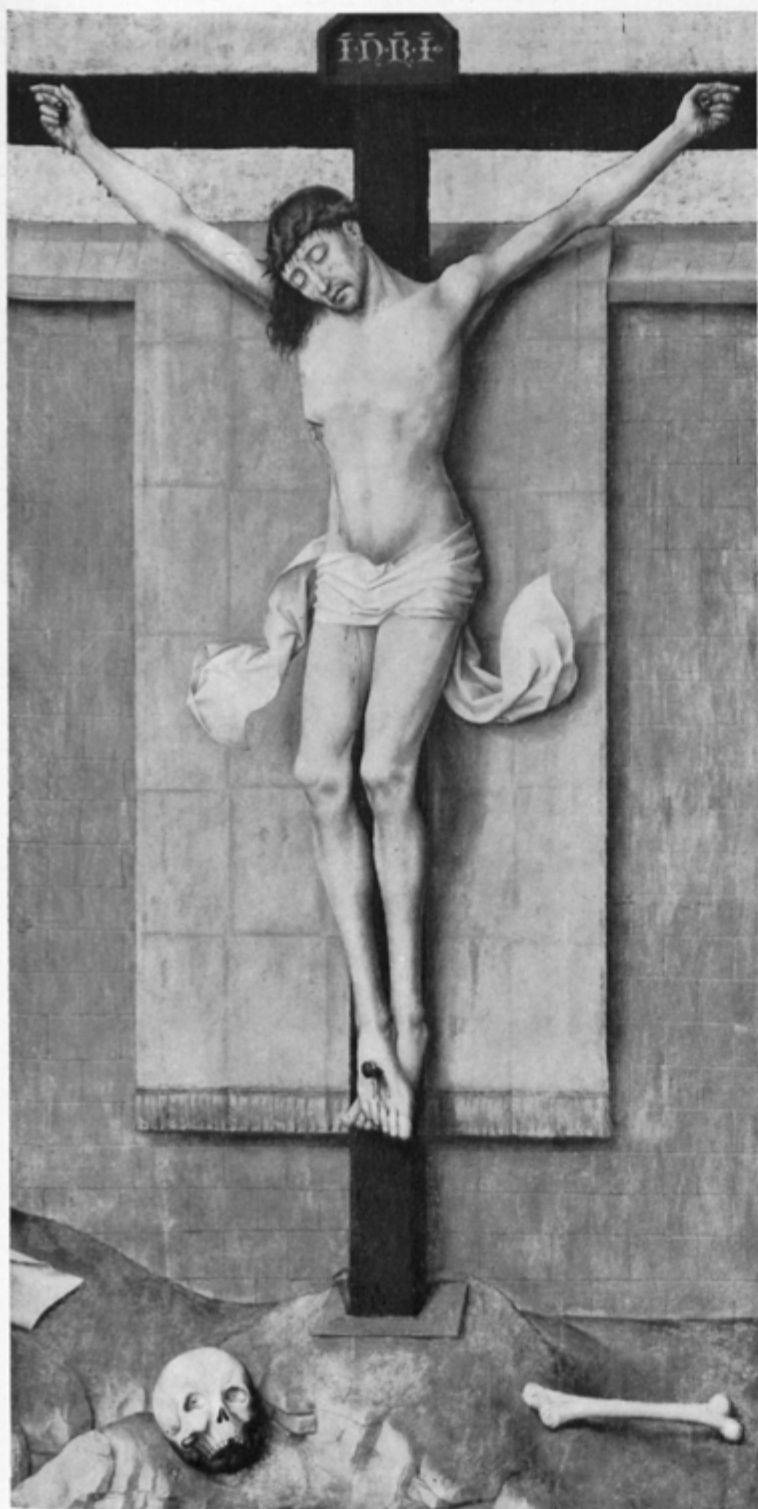
14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Exterior, Portrait of Nicolas Rolin,
Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu



14. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Exterior, Portrait of Guigone de Salins. *Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu*



15. Rogier. Virgin and St. John. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



15. Rogier. Christ on the Cross. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



16. Rogier. Altarpiece of the Sacraments. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



16
A

16. Detail of Plate 34. A. Dedication Miniature of the *Chroniques du Hainaut*, Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*



17. Rogier. Sts. Margaret and Apollonia. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie
der Staatlichen Museen

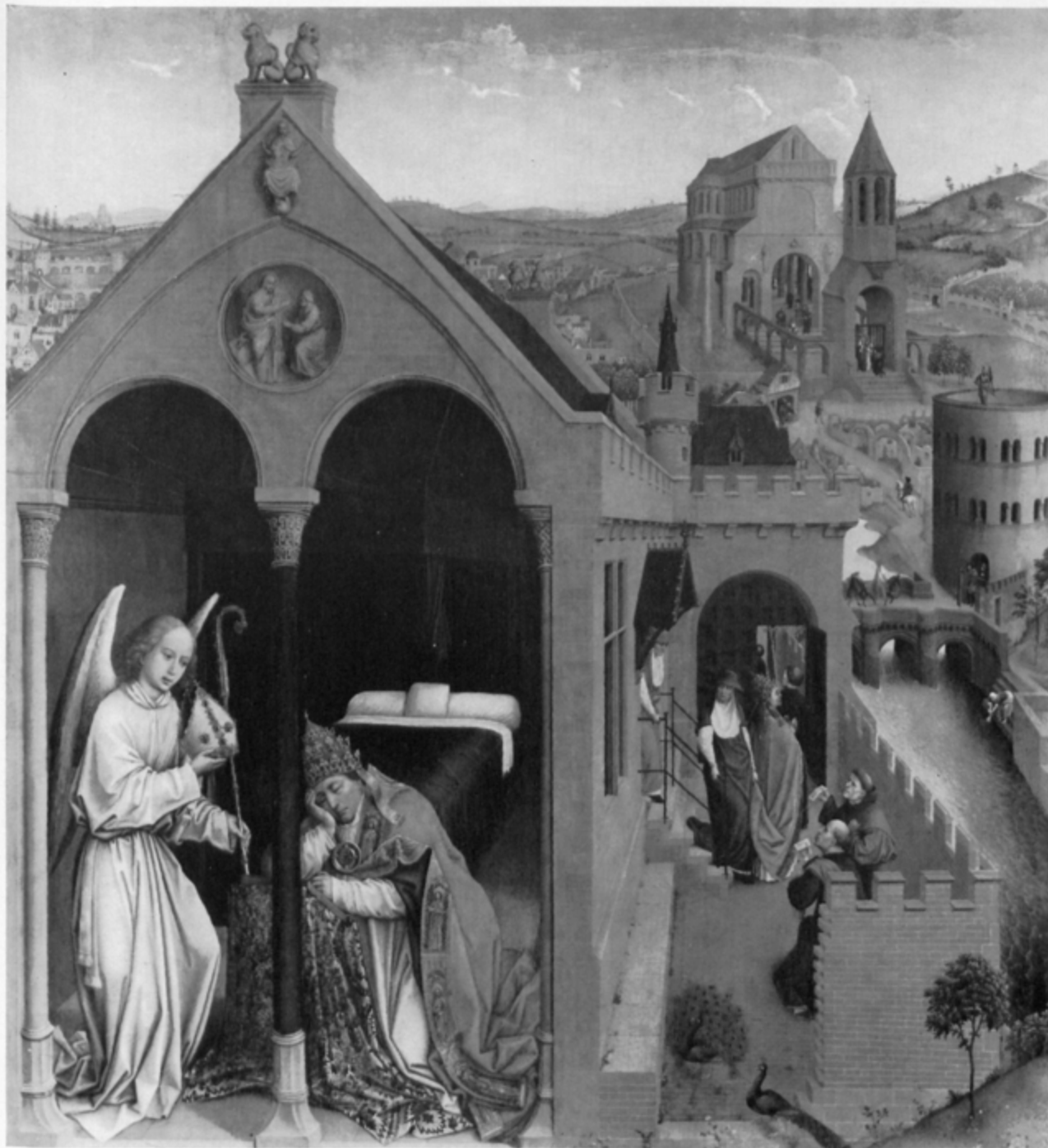


17a
A

17 a. Rogier, copy. Shutters, Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist; Sts. Margaret and Apollonia. *Brussels, B. Dierckx de Casterlé Collection*. A. Drawing after Rogier. *Exhumation of St. Hubert. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



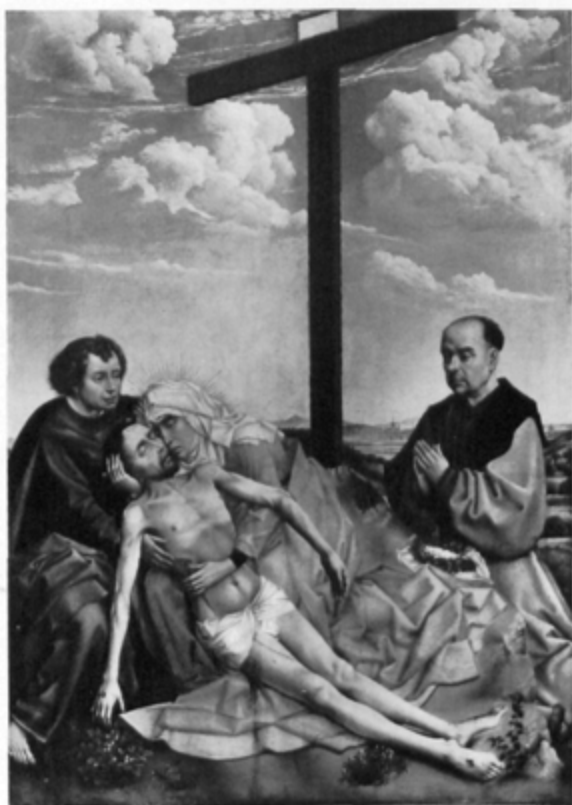
18. Rogier. Exhumation of St. Hubert. *London, National Gallery*



19. Rogier. Dream of Pope Sergius. *Von Pannwitz Collection*



20. Rogier. Lamentation. *London, National Gallery*



20a

20b | 20d

20 a. Rogier, replica. Lamentation. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 20 b. Rogier, follower. Lamentation. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 20 d. Rogier, copy. Lamentation. Madrid, *Museo del Prado*



21. Rogier. Virgin with Four Saints. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut

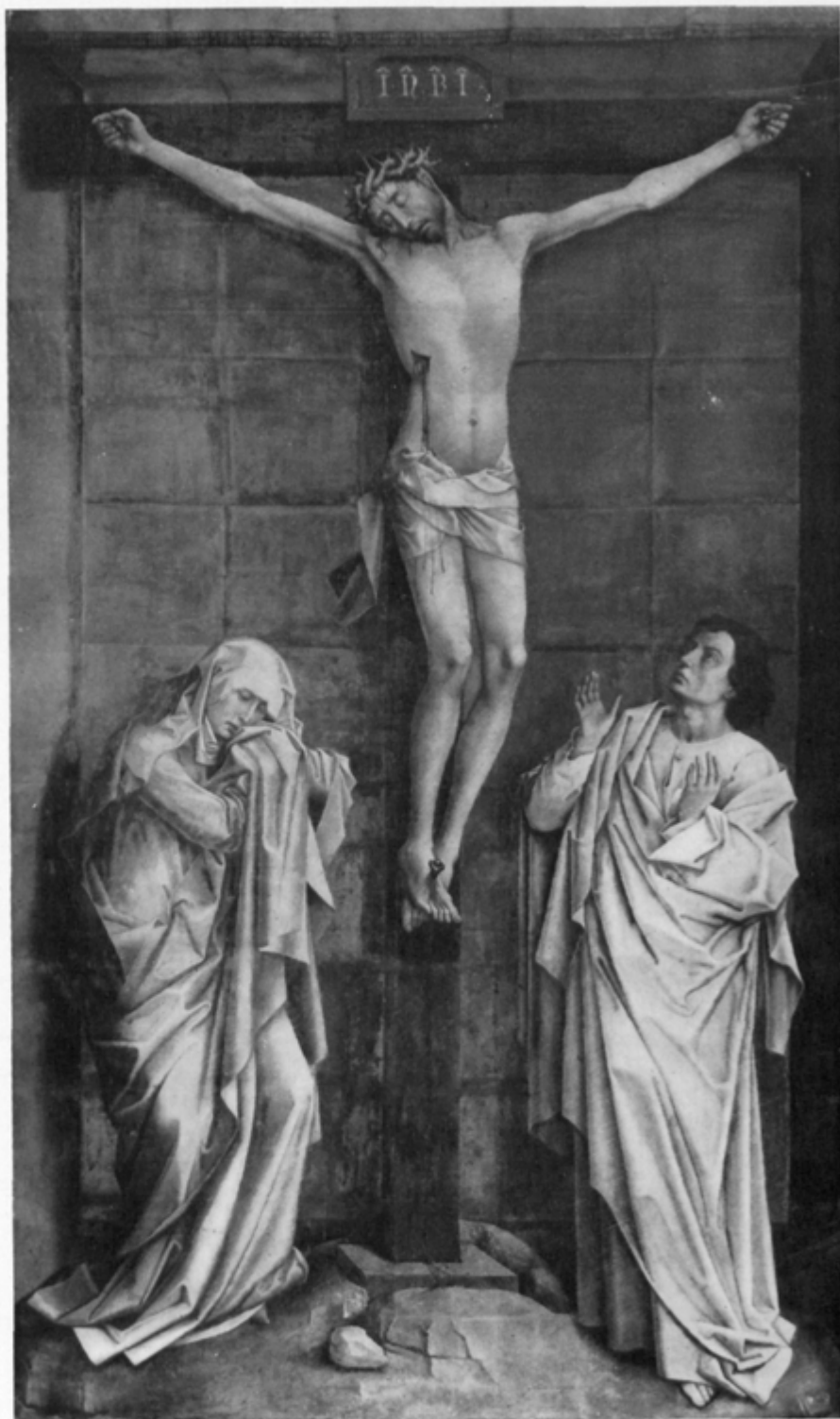


22. Rogier. Lamentation before the Tomb. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



23 | 23
| 24

23. Rogier. Portrait of Lionello d'Este. With Reverse. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 24. Rogier (?). Group of Men. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



25. Rogier. Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo*



26. Rogier. Altarpiece of Jean de Bracque. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



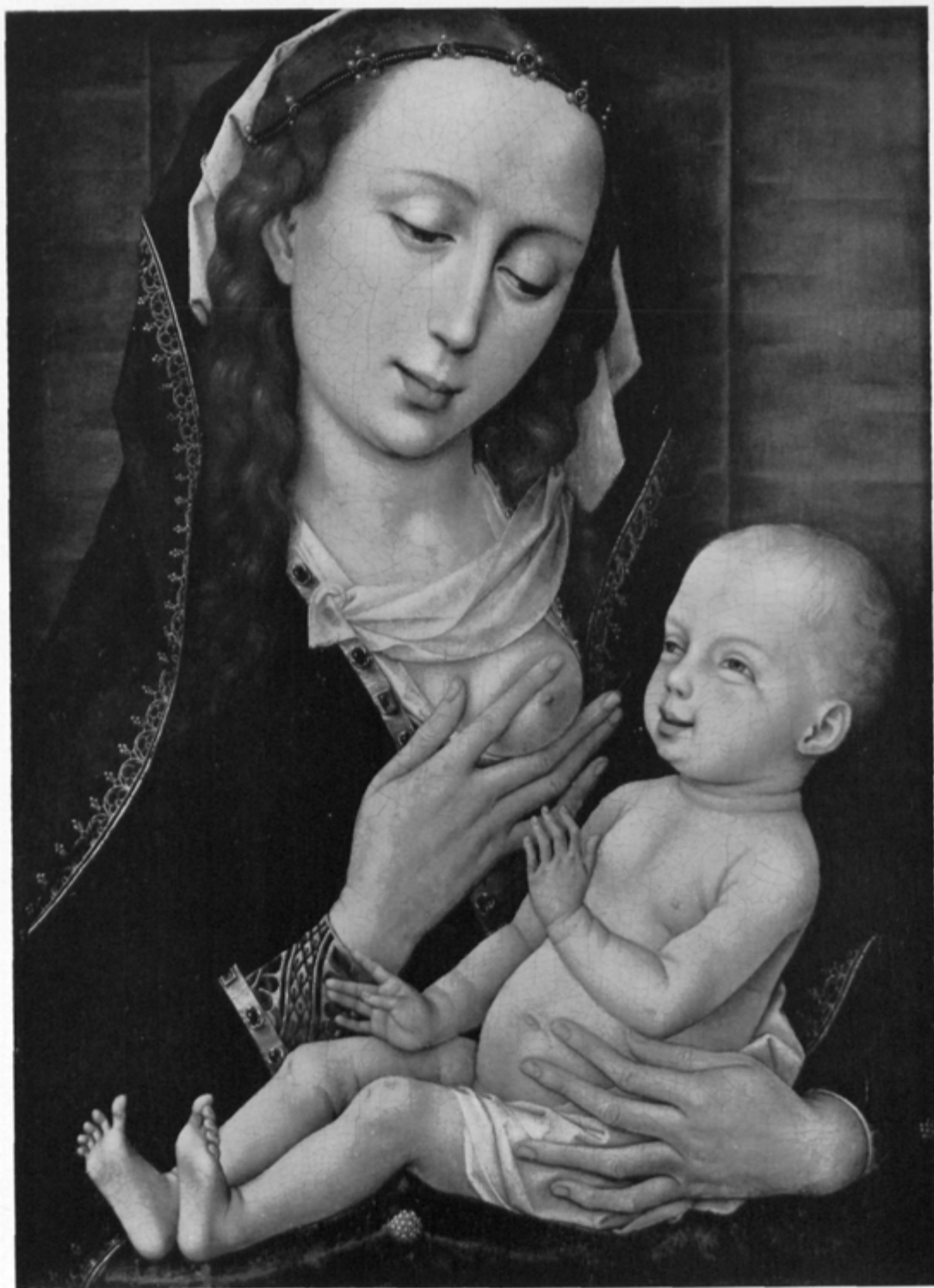
26. Rogier. Altarpiece of Jean de Bracque, Centrepiece. Paris, Musée du Louvre



26 | 26

A | B

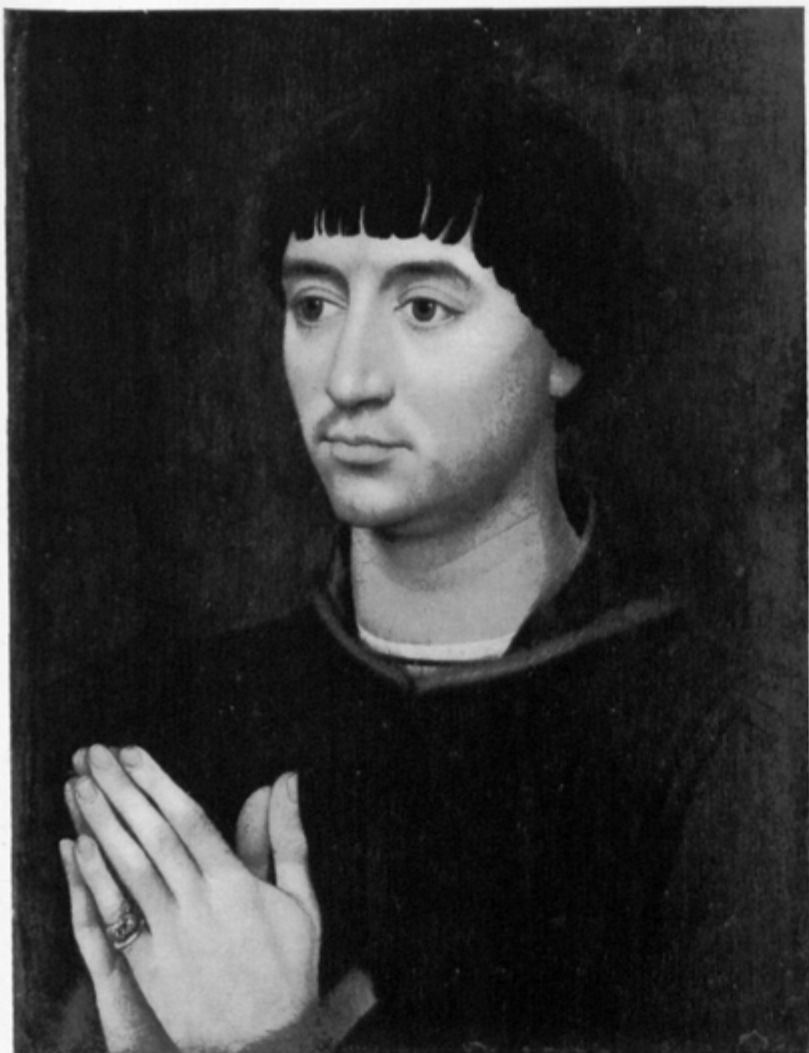
26. Rogier. Altarpiece of Jean de Bracque. Shutters, St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene. Paris, Musée du Louvre.
A. Rogier (?). Drawing. Mary Magdalene. London, British Museum. B. Rogier (after). Drawing. Mary Magdalene.
London, British Museum



27. Rogier. Madonna. Chicago, Art Institute, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection



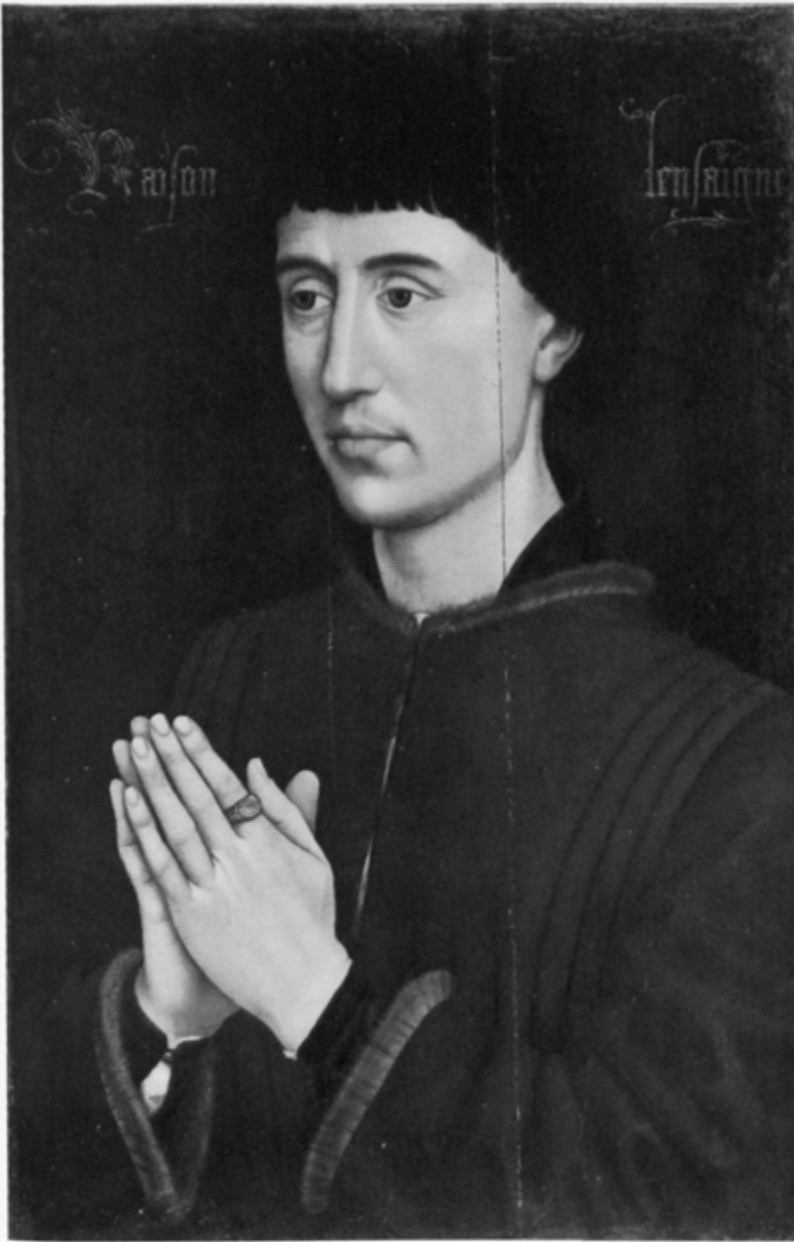
29. Rogier. Madonna. With Reverse. Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts



28. Rogier. Portrait of Jean de Gros. With Reverse. *Chicago, Art Institute, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection*



31. Rogier. Madonna. Caen, Collections Municipales, Collection Mancel



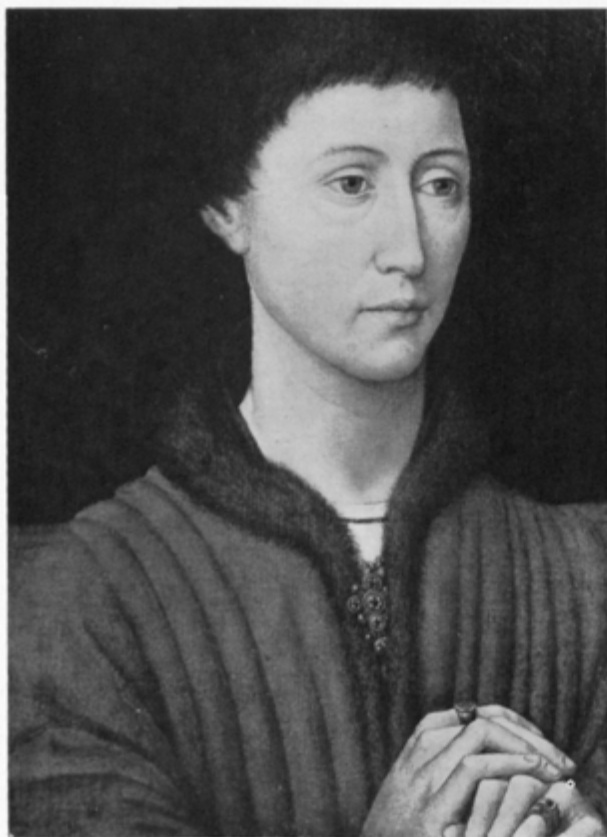
30. Rogier. Portrait of Laurent Froimont. With Reverse. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



32. Rogier. Portrait of a Man. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation)



29 A. Rogier. Portrait of a Woman. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew Mellon Collection*

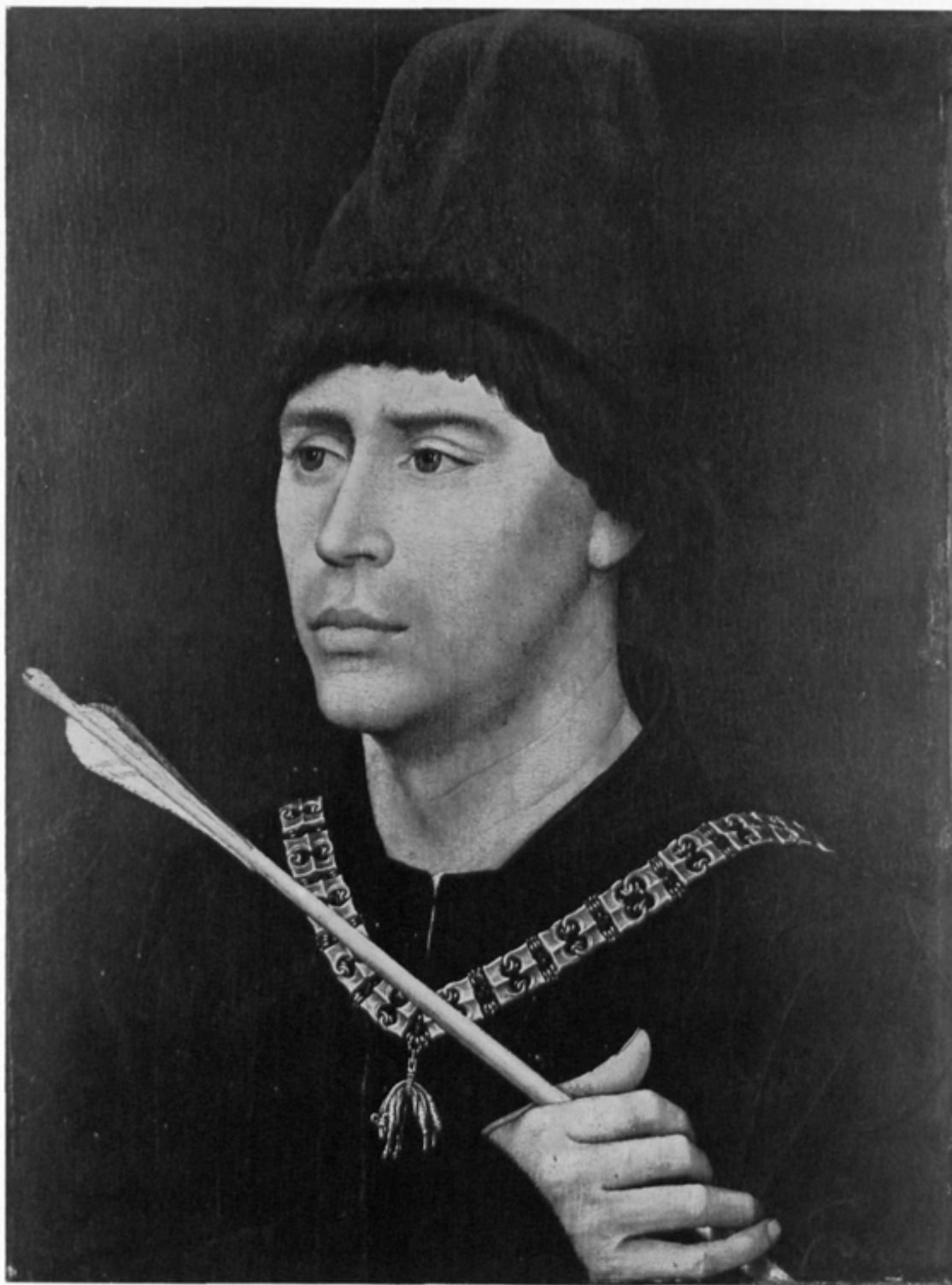


33 | 34
| 34

33. Rogier. Portrait of a Young Man. *Indianapolis, The Clowes Fund.* 34. Rogier. Portrait of a Woman. With Reverse. *London, National Gallery*



35. Rogier. Madonna. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection



37. Rogier. Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

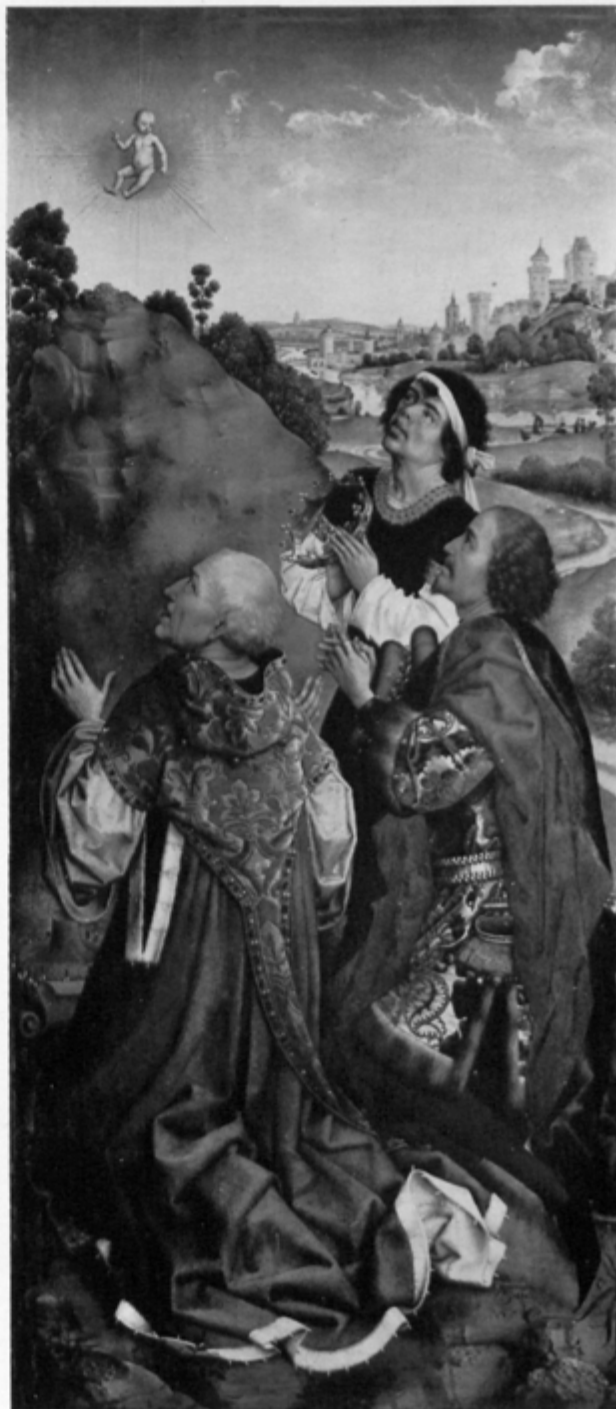


Plate
59





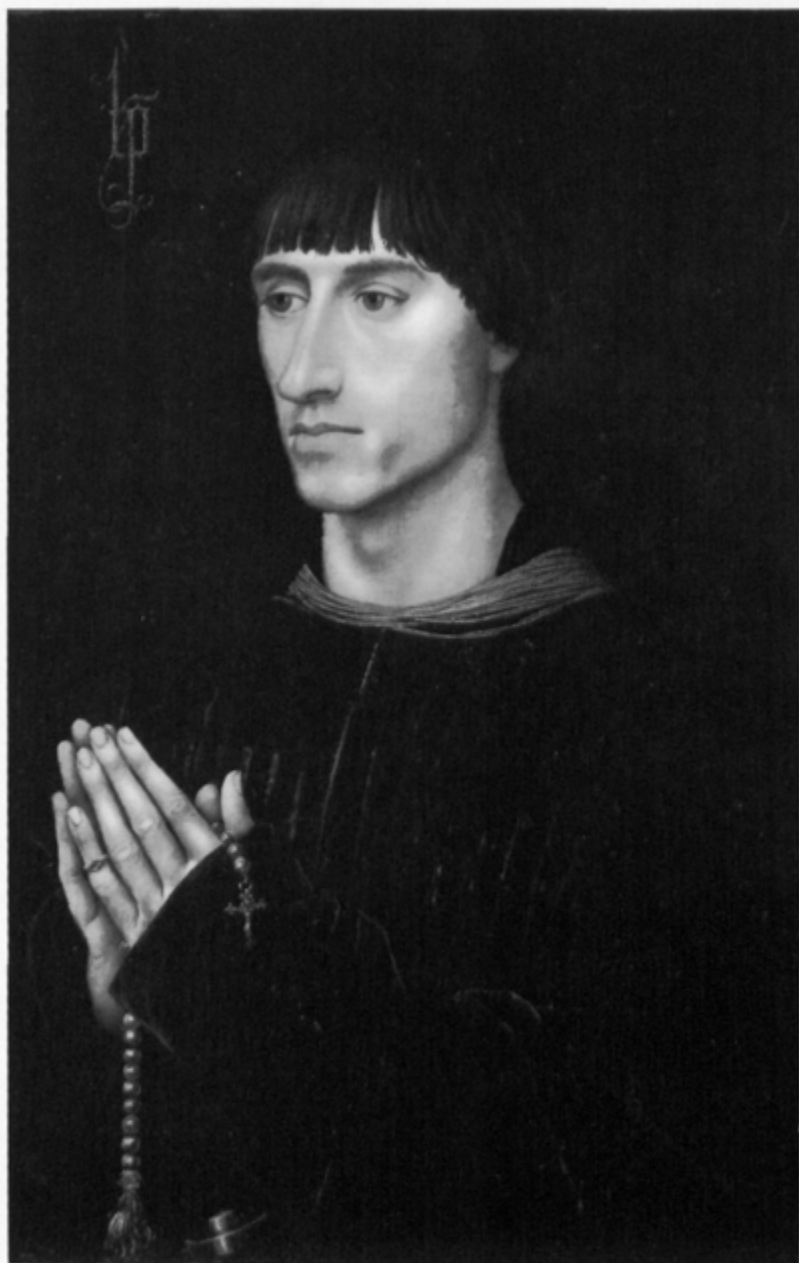
38. Rogier. Altarpiece of Pierre Bladelin, Centrepiece. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



38. Rogier. Altarpiece of Pierre Bladelin, Shuttters, Tiburtine Sibyl; Three Kings of Orient, Following the Star. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



40. Rogier. Madonna. San Marino, Calif., Henry E. Huntington Library
and Art Gallery



39. Rogier. Portrait of Philippe de Croy. With Reverse. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



40 A | 41
40 A b |

40 A. Rogier. Holy Family. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection. 41. Rogier (?). Christ Appearing to His Mother. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew Mellon Collection. 40 A. b. Rogier, Follower. Virgin with the Child Holding the Cross. Madrid, J.M. Orue Collection

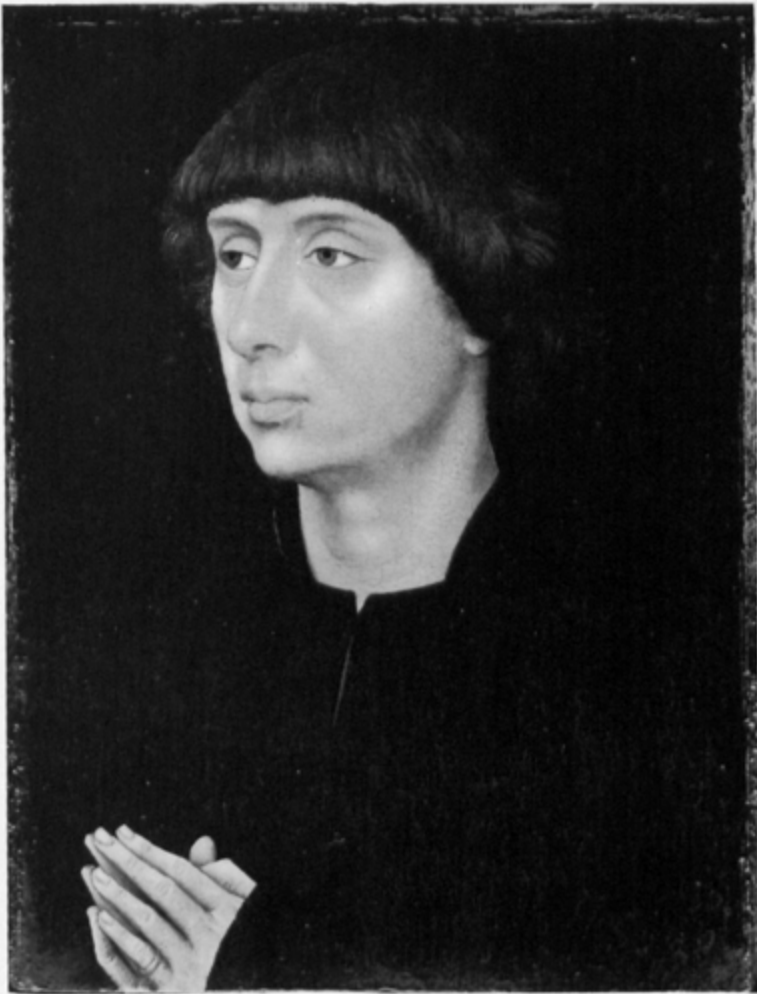


Plate
65

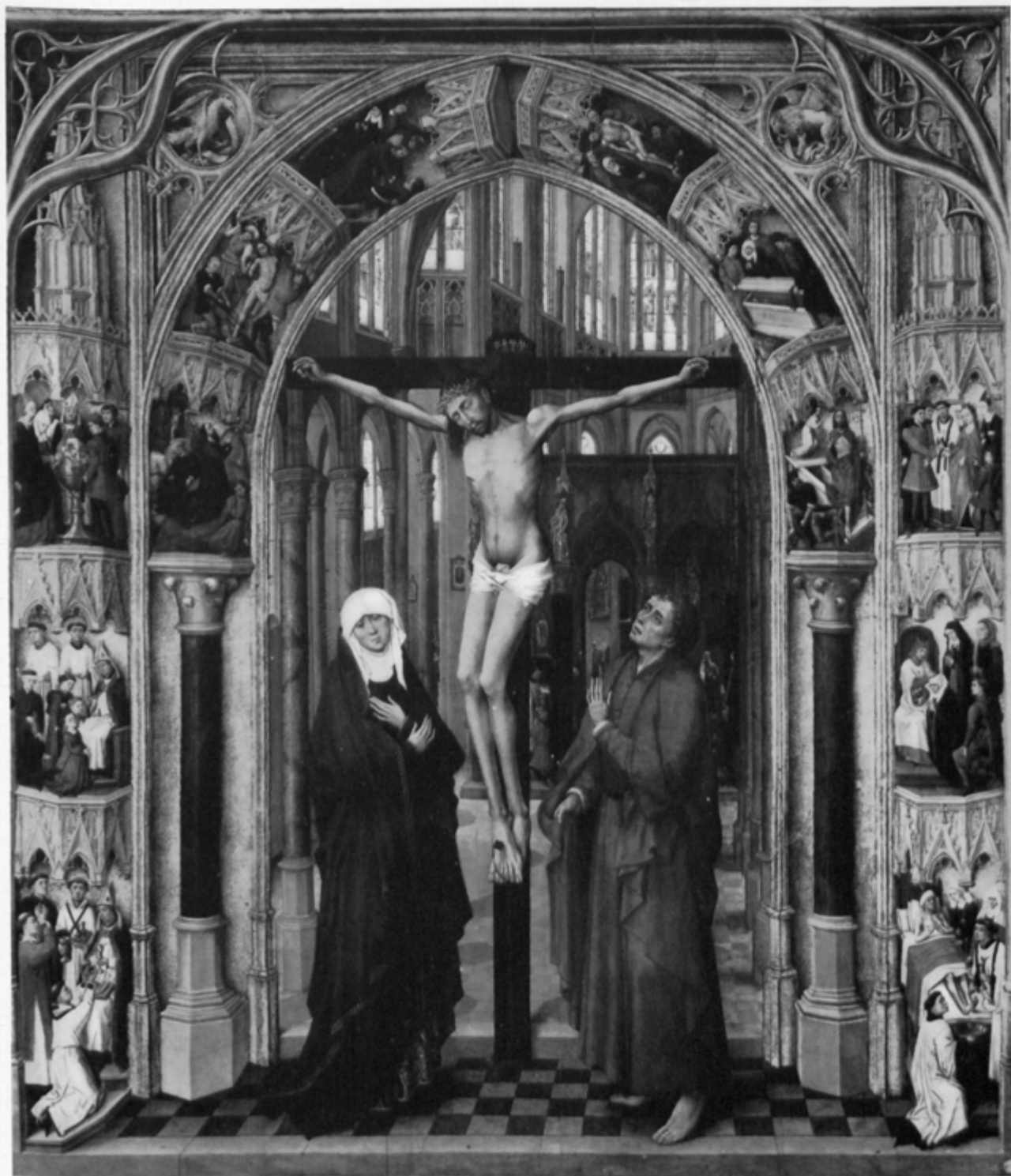


45 | 44
| 42

45. Rogier. Portrait of a Man. Banbury, Upton House, Viscount Bearsted Collection (National Trust). 44. Rogier. Portrait of a Man. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 42. Rogier. Portrait of Charles the Bold. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



47. Rogier, workshop. So-Called Cambrai Altarpiece. Madrid, Museo del Prado



47. Rogier, workshop. So-Called Cambrai Altarpiece, Centrepiece. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



46. Rogier. Lamentation. *The Hague, Mauritshuis*. 43. Rogier (?). Madonna. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



48. Rogier. Annunciation. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan





49. Rogier. Altarpiece of St. Columba. Centrepiece. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek



49. Rogier. Altarpiece of St. Columba, Shutters, Annunciation, Presentation of Christ. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*



50. Master of Flémalle. Madonna of the Grassy Nook. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



51. Master of Flémalle. Betrothal of the Virgin, with Reverse, Sts. James and Clare. Madrid, Museo del Prado





53. Master of Flémalle. Nativity. *Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts*





54. Master of Flémalle. Triptych of the Annunciation, Centrepiece. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters



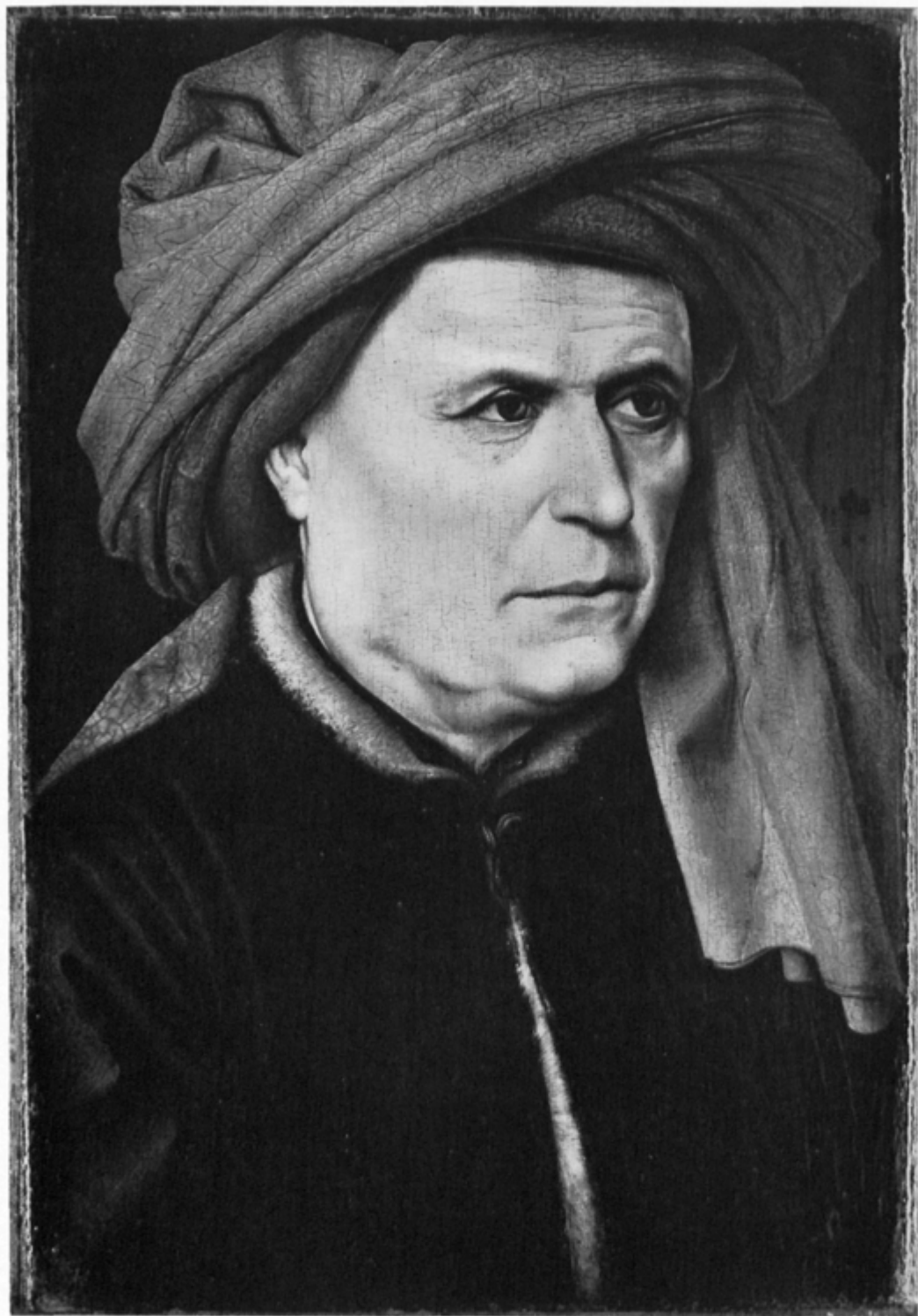
54. Master of Flémalle. Triptych of the Annunciation, Shutters, Donors; Joseph in His Workshop. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters*



54 b. Master of Flémalle, studio? Annunciation. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



56. Master of Flémalle. Christ giving the Blessing and the Virgin at Prayer. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



55. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Man. *London, National Gallery*



55. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Woman. London, National Gallery



57. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Woman. *Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Foundation*



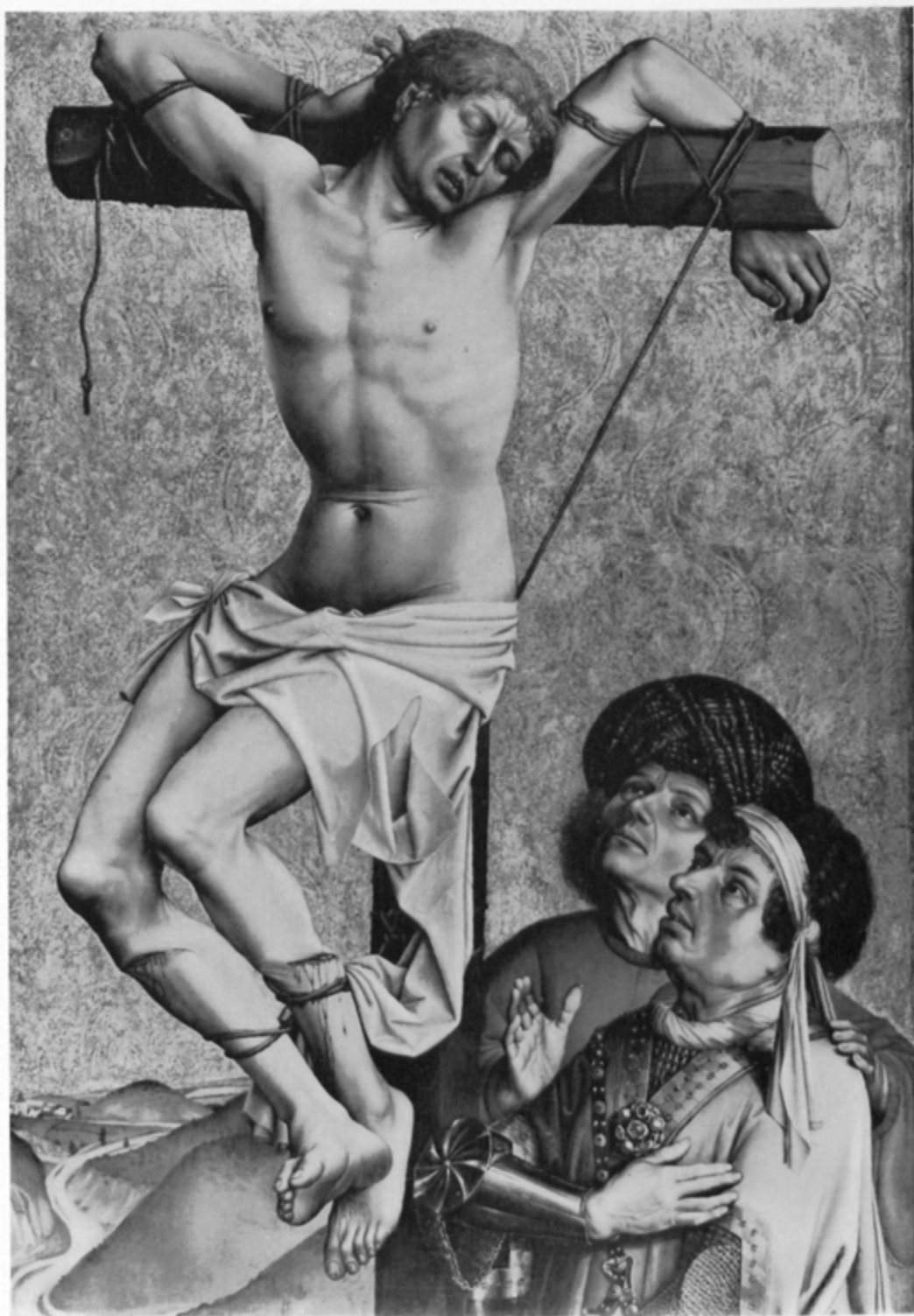
58. Master of Flémalle. Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. *London, National Gallery*



59a

59a | A

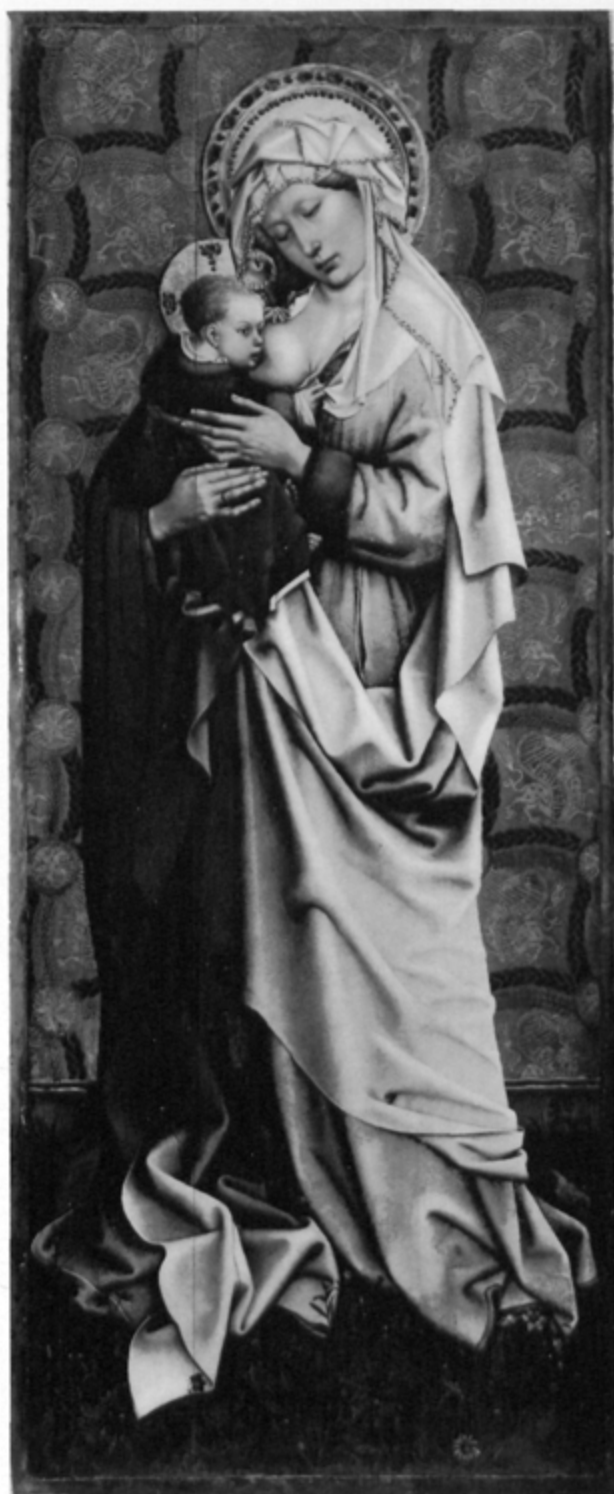
59 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Triptych with the Descent from the Cross. *Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.* A. Miniature from the d'Arenberg Book of Hours. Descent from the Cross. *New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library*



59. Master of Flémalle. Fragment with the Good Thief. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut



60. Master of Flémalle. Shutter, St. Veronica. With Reverse, The Trinity. Frankfurt, Stædelsches Kunstinstitut

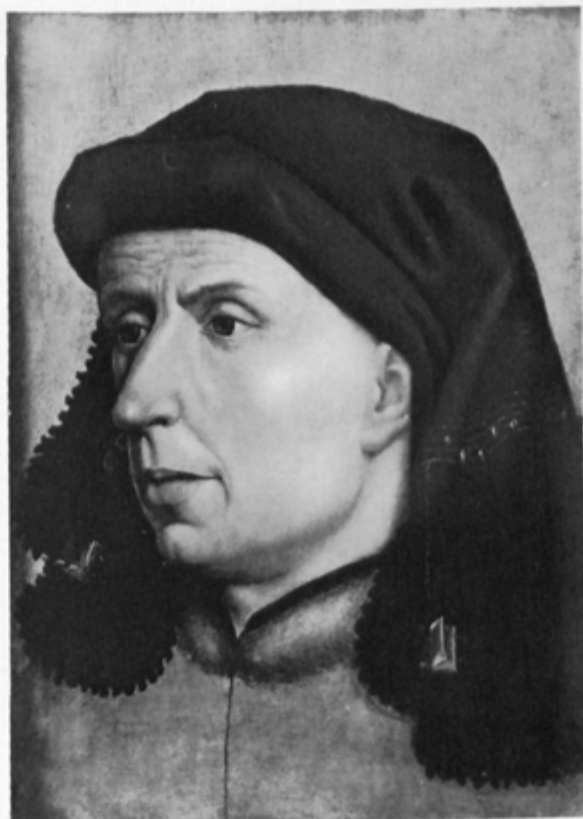


60 | A
| 60a

60. Master of Flémalle. Shutter, Virgin and Child. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut. A. Master of Flémalle, after. Drawing, St. Veronica. Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum. 60 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Madonna. Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid



61. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Fat Man. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. Add. 154.* Master of Flémalle, replica. Portrait of a Fat Man. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation)*



62. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Man. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 63. Master of Flémalle. Portrait of a Musician. New York, Mrs. John E. Magnin Collection



65. Master of Flémalle. Holy Trinity. *Leningrad, Hermitage*



64. Master of Flémalle. *Virgin by the Fireplace*. Leningrad, Hermitage



66. Master of Flémalle. Virgin Enthroned in Heaven with Sts. Peter and Augustine and the Donor.
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet



68. Master of Flémalle (?). Christ on the Cross with the Mourners. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



67. Master of Flémalle. Shutter, The Donor Heinrich von Werl and St. John the Baptist. Madrid, Museo del Prado



67. Master of Flémalle. Shutter of the Werl Altarpiece,
St. Barbara. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



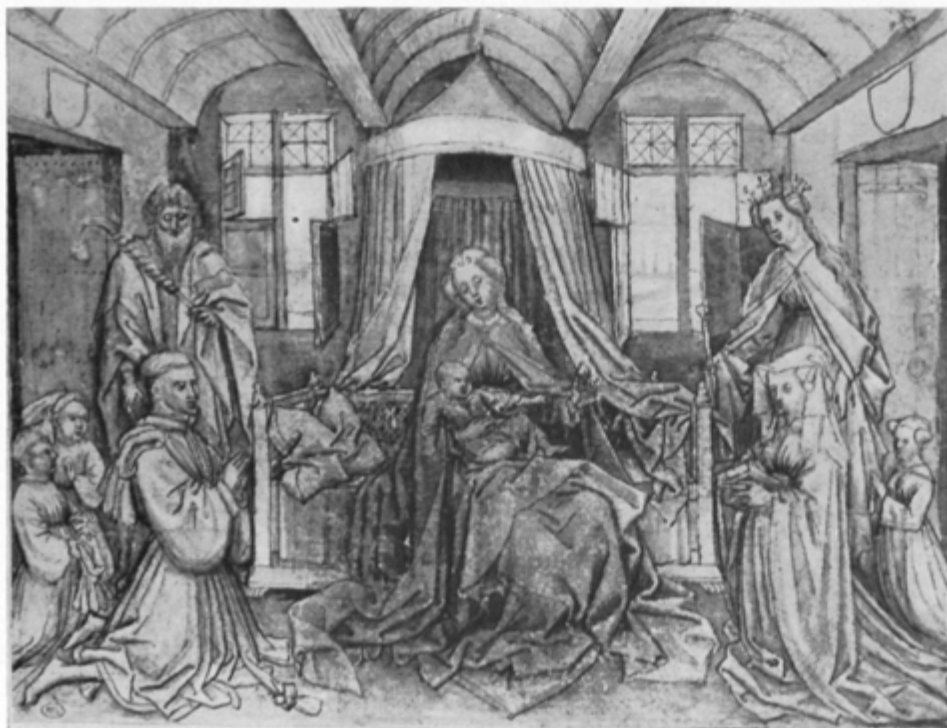
69

70a | 70b

69. Master of Flémalle, copy? Portraits of Bartholomew Alatrueye and Marie Pacy. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 70 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Madonna. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Michael Friedsam Collection. 70 b. Master of Flémalle, copy. Madonna, Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



71a | A
B | C
71 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Trinity and Four Angels. Louvain, Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens. A. Embroidery, Medallion of a Cope. The Trinity. Berne, Historisches Museum. B. Fragments of a Drawing. The Trinity. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. C. Embroidery, Antependium of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



72a

Add. 150 | 73 a

72 a. Master of Flémalle, copy? Drawing. Madonna with Saints and Donors. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Add. 150. Master of Flémalle (?). Mass of Pope Gregory. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 73 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Mass of Pope Gregory. New York, Acquavella Galleries



74 a | 74 c
74 h | A

74 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Virgin in the Apse. New York, Julius H. Weitzner Gallery. 74 c. Master of Flémalle, copy. Virgin in the Apse. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund. 74 h. Master of Flémalle, copy. Virgin in the Apse. Loppem (Belgium), Private Collection. A. Master of Flémalle, copy by Bernard van Orley. Virgin in the Apse. Cádiz, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes



75a | 75b

75c | 76a

75 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Vengeance of Tomyris (destroyed). 75 b. Master of Flémalle, copy. Vengeance of Tomyris. Vienna, *Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*. 75 c. Master of Flémalle, partial copy. Judith and Holofernes. Greenville, S.C., *Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*. 76 a. Master of Flémalle, copy. Adoration of the Magi. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



77. Unidentified Painter. Death of the Virgin. London, National Gallery. 82. Daret, circle of. Legend of St. Joseph. Hoogstraten (Belgium). Church



78. Daret. Visitation. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 79. Daret. Nativity. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation)



81. Daret. Adoration of the Magi. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 80. Daret. Presentation of Christ. Paris, *Petit Palais*



84. Rogier, follower. Betrothal of the Virgin. *Antwerp, Cathedral*. 85. Rogier, follower. Presentation of Christ. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection*. 83. Rogier, follower. Presentation of the Virgin. With Reverse (before Restauration). *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo*. 104. Rogier, follower. St. John the Baptist. Formerly *Brussels, Mme Jos. Fiévez*





89 | 90

91 | 92

89. Rogier, follower. Crucifixion. Bonn, *Rheinisches Landesmuseum*. 90. Rogier workshop. Crucifixion. Dresden, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 91. Rogier, follower. Crucifixion. Madrid, *Museo del Prado*. 92. Rogier, follower. Crucifixion. New York, *Historical Society*





94a | 94b

Add. 139 | 94d

94 a. After Rogier (?). Drawing. Descent from the Cross. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. 94 b. Rogier, copy. Descent from the Cross. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Add. 139. Group from a Sculptured Altarpiece. Descent from the Cross. Detroit, The Institute of Arts. 94 d. Rogier, partial copy. Descent from the Cross (destroyed)



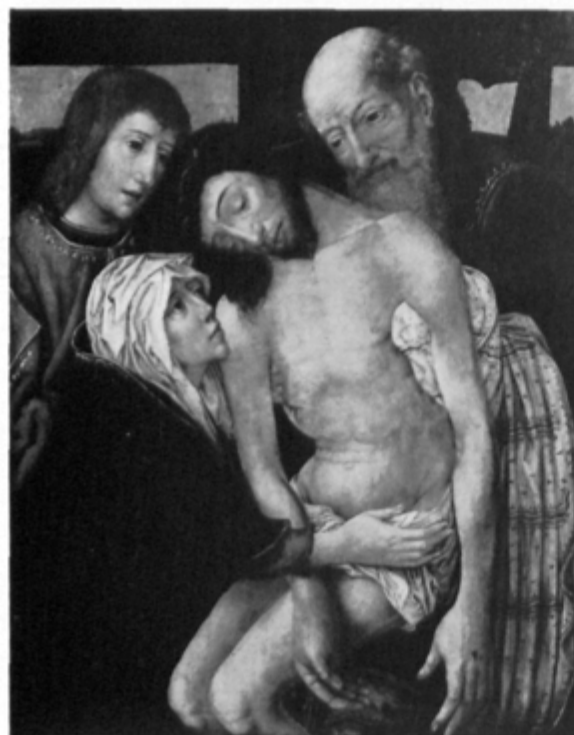
Plate
III



95 | 96

98a | 98b | 98c

95. Rogier, workshop. Descent from the Cross. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*. 96. Rogier, follower. Descent from the Cross. Formerly *Brussels, Laurent Meeus Collection*. 98 a. Rogier, follower. Descent from the Cross. *London, Buckingham Palace* (reproduced by gracious permission of H. Majesty). 98 b. Rogier, follower. Descent from the Cross. Formerly *Sigmaringen, Fürstliches Hohenzollernsches Museum*. 98 c. Rogier, copy by Quentin Massys. Descent from the Cross. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro-Galdiano*



97a | 97b

97c | 97d

97 a. Rogier, copy. Descent from the Cross. Sold in Vienna, 1918. 97 b. Rogier, copy. Descent from the Cross. Present location unknown. 97 c. Rogier, copy. Descent from the Cross. Strasbourg, *Musées de la Ville*. 97 d. Rogier, copy. Descent from the Cross. Bruges, *St. Sauveur Cathedral, Museum*



99
102

100

99. Rogier, follower. Lamentation. Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum. 102. Rogier, follower. Last Judgment. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 100. Rogier, follower. Resurrection. Sold in Amsterdam, 1926



Add. 158 | 101 | Add. 158
Add. 158 | 86

101. Rogier, follower. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece. Valencia, Ayuntamiento. Shutters (Add. 158), Heaven and Hell; Reverse: Adam and Eve. Expelled from Paradise. Madrid, Private Collection. 86. Rogier, follower. Jesus with St. John the Baptist; Jesus at the House of Martha. Banbury, Upton House, Viscount Bearsted Collection (National Trust)



103. Rogier, follower. Shutters, Crucifixion of St. Peter with a Donor; St. Anthony with a female Donor; Reverse, Annunciation. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection



105. Rogier, follower. Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece. Interior, Donors with Saints; Angels Holding Escutcheons. Ambierle near Roanne (France), Priory Church



105. Rogier, follower. Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece. Exterior, Saints and Annunciation. *Ambierle, near Roanne (France), Priory Church*



106 c. Rogier. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson



106 b |

106 a | 106 d

106 b. Rogier, replica. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *Leningrad, Hermitage*. 106 a. Rogier, replica. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*. 106 d. Rogier, replica. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *Vaduz (Liechtenstein), Count Ferdinand Wilczek Collection*



107a | 107b | 107h

107c

107 a. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 107 b. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 107 h. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *New York, Demotte Gallery (?)*. 107 c. Rogier, follower. Diptych, Virgin and Child with Donor. Reverse : Coat of Arms. *Cambridge, Mass., Busch Reisinger Museum, Harvard University*



108 a | 108 k | 108 l

109 a | 109 b

108 a. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 108 k. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. Lille, *Palais des Beaux-Arts*. 108 l. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George D. Pratt*. 109 a. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. Formerly Paris, *Wildenstein Gallery*. 109 b. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. Brussels, *Georges Bautier Collection*



110 a. Rogier. Virgin and Child. Berlin, Dr. Springer Collection (?)



111 | 114 | 115

116 | 117 | 118

111. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.* 114. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *York, City Art Gallery.* 115. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Banbury, Upton House, Viscount Bearsted Collection (National Trust).* 116. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Formerly New York, Julius H. Weitzner Gallery.* 117. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Brussels, Dr. Jamar Collection.* 118. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



119 | 120a
Add. 142

119. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Chesterfield (St. Louis), Mo., Leicester B. Faust Collection*. 120 a. Engraving after Rogier, by the Master of the Banderols. *Madonna and Child with a Flower. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum*. Add. 142. Rogier, follower. Virgin and Child. *Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts*



121c | 121b

121c | Add. 138

121 c. Rogier, follower. Madonna with the Standing Child. Brussels, Ministry of National Education and Culture.

121 b. After Rogier. Drawing, Madonna with the Standing Child. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-

kabinett. 121 c. Rogier, follower. Virgin with St. Jerome, St. Elizabeth, the Donor and His Family (destroyed). Add.

138. Rogier, after. Virgin and Child. Belgium, Private Collection



122	123 a
	124 a

122. Rogier, follower. Virgin with Sts. John the Baptist, Peter, Cosmas and Damian. *Amsterdam, Mr. and Mrs. H. Wetzlar Collection.* 123 a. Garofalo, after Rogier. Holy Family. *Frankfurt, Stædelsches Kunstinstitut.* 124 a. Rogier, follower. Christ Giving the Blessing. *Greenville, S.C., Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*



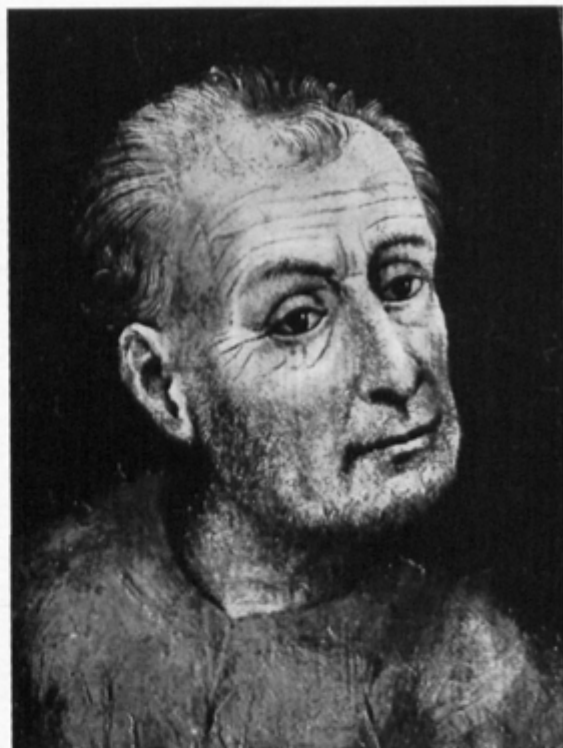
Plate
127



125 d | 125 g

125 a | 125 c | 125 b

125 d. Rogier, copy. Portrait of Philip the Good. *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts*. 125 g. Rogier, copy. Portrait of Philip the Good. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*. 125 a. Rogier, copy. Portrait of Philip the Good. *Madrid, Palacio Nacional*. 125 c. Rogier, copy. Portrait of Philip the Good. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 125 b. Rogier, copy. Portrait of Philip the Good. *Formerly Gotha, Schloss Museum*



126 a | 128

126a. Rogier, copy. Portrait of the Duke of Cleves. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* 128. Rogier, copy. Two Male Heads. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*



A | B
c | Add. 146 A

A. Rogier (?). Drawing. Head of the Virgin. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. B. Rogier (?). Drawing. Head of the Virgin. *London, British Museum*. C. Rogier, Drawing. Half-Length Figure of a Man. *Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett*. Add. 146 A. After Rogier. Drawing. Virgin and Child. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen*



A to F
G to L

From A to F. Embroidered Scenes from a Cope, with the Sacraments. Berne, *Historisches Museum*. From H to K. Drawings with the Sacraments. Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum*. G and L. Drawings with the Sacraments. Paris, *Musée du Louvre*, Collection Edmond de Rothschild



Plate
131





A | B
C

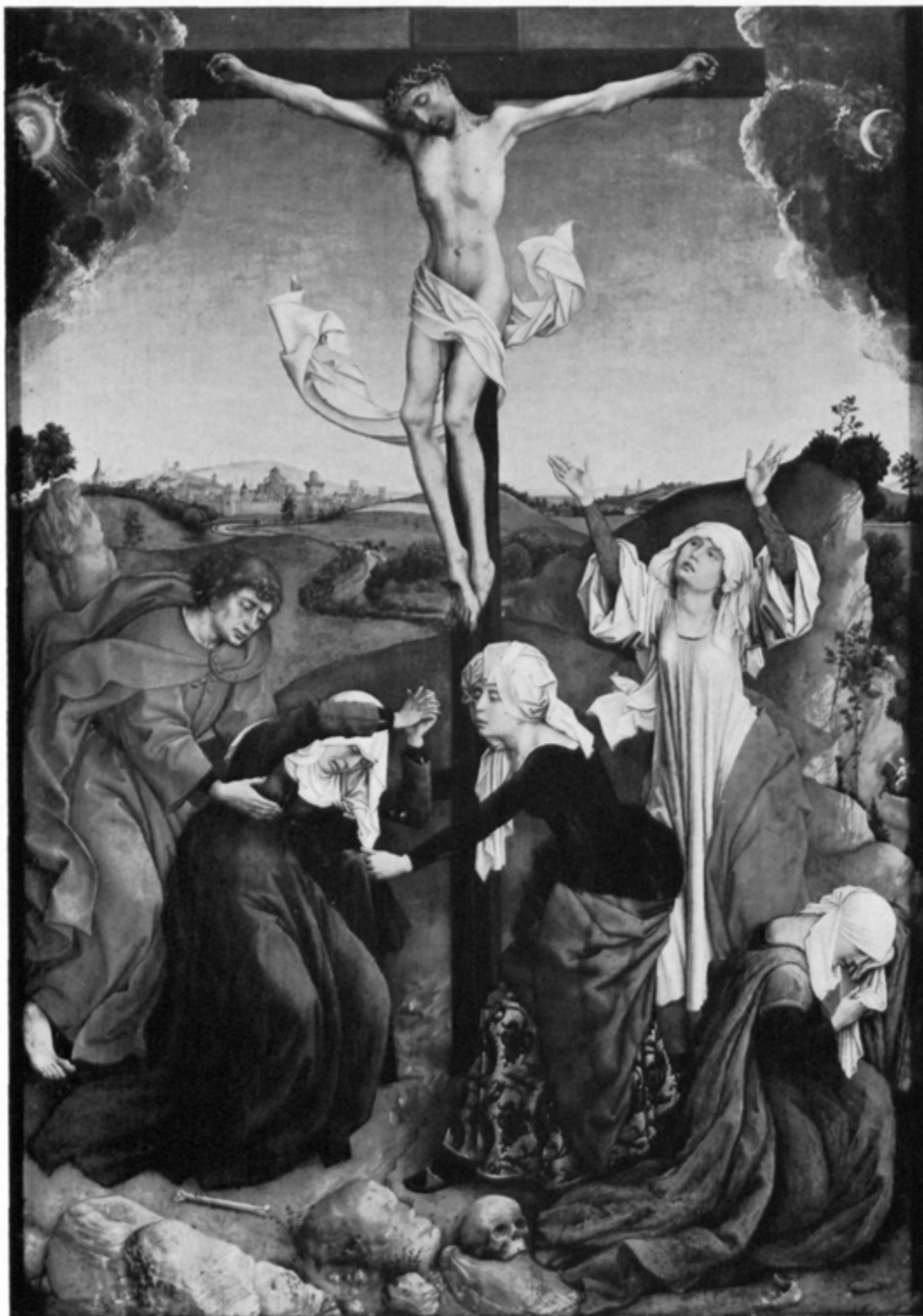
A. Tapestry. Annunciation. Paris, Musée des Gobelins (*Mobilier National et Manufactures Nationales des Gobelins et de Beauvais*). B. Tapestry. Adoration of Magi. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art. C. Tapestry with the Legends of Trajan and Herkenbald. Berne, Historisches Museum



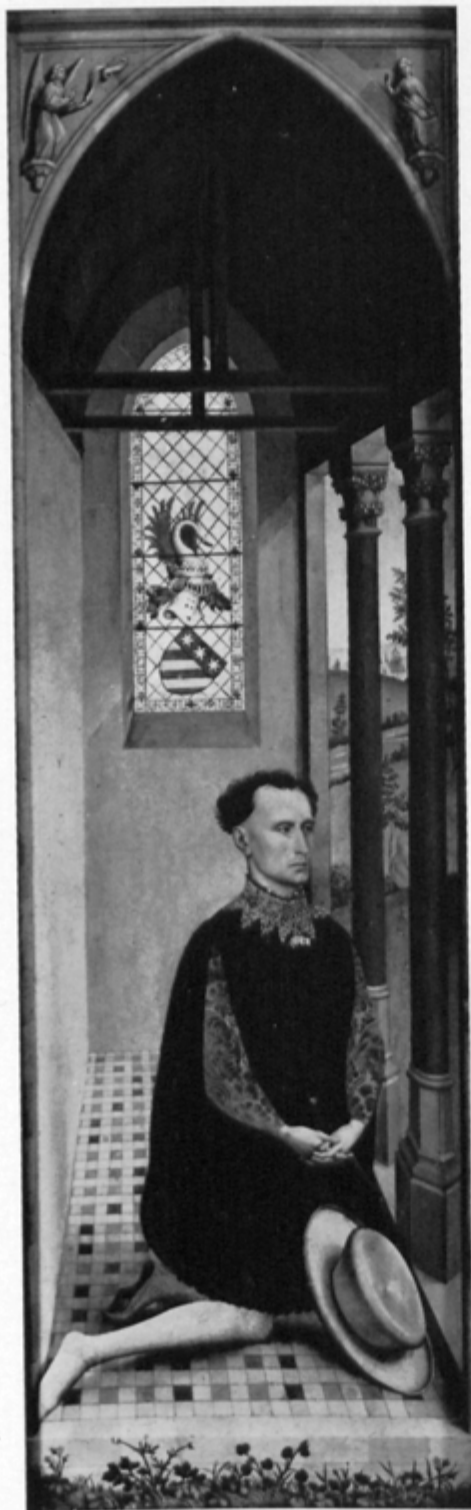
Supp. 129 | Add. 141

9a

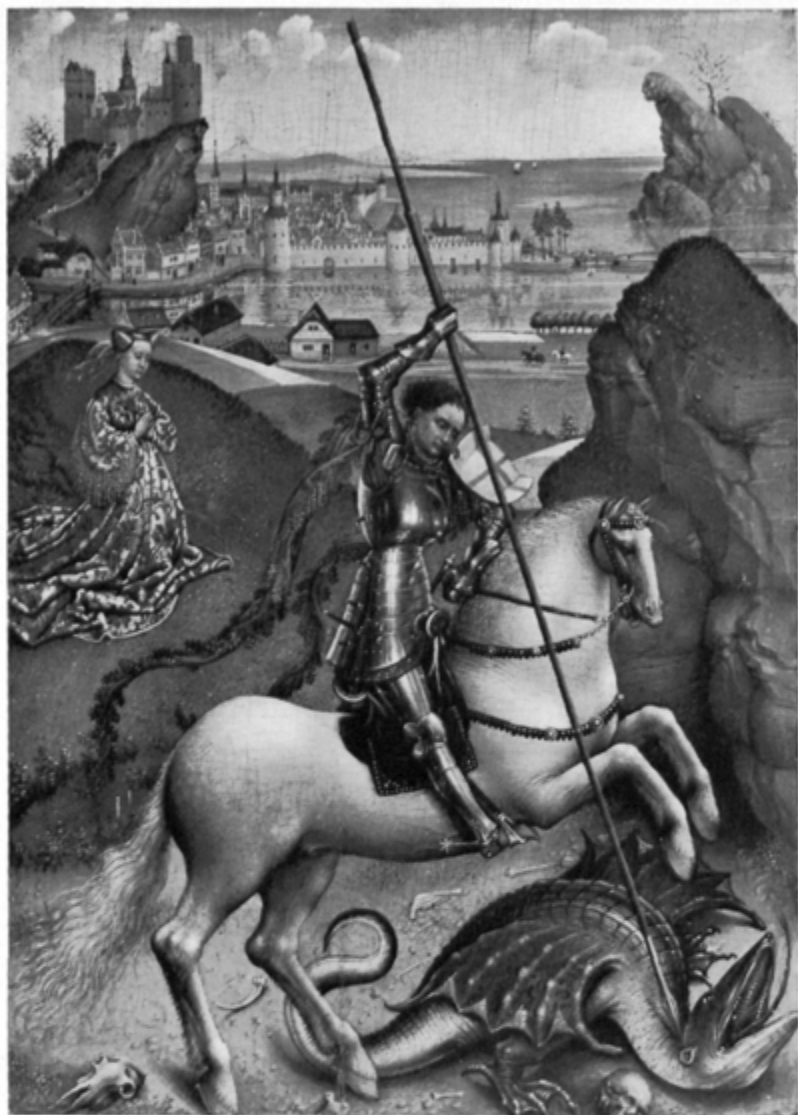
Supp. 129. Rogier. Fragments : Donor with St. James and the Virgin of the Annunciation. *Petworth, John Wyndham Collection*. Add. 141. After Rogier. Angel of the Annunciation. *Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum*. 9 a. Rogier, copy. Angel of the Annunciation. With Reverse : Tiburtine Sibyl. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Bode-Museum*



Supp. 131. Rogier. Triptych with a Crucifixion, Centrepiece. *Berne, Kunstmuseum, Abegg-Stiftung*



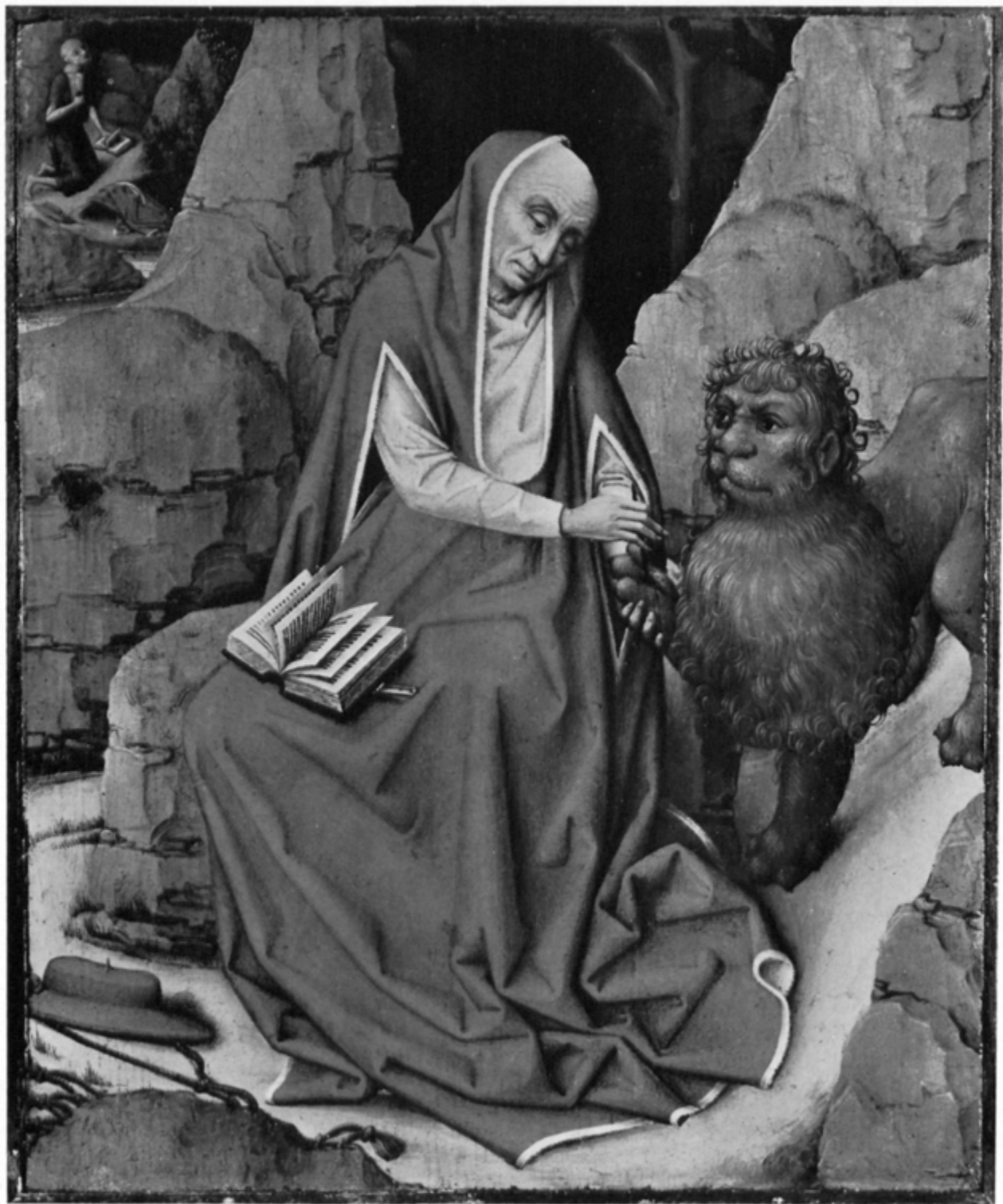
Supp. 131. Rogier. Triptych with a Crucifixion. Shutters: Donor; Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Berne, Kunstmuseum, Abegg-Stiftung



Supp. 130. Rogier. St. George, Mounted. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund*



Supp. 132. Rogier. Madonna in a Niche. Madrid, Museo del Prado



Supp. 133. Rogier. St. Jerome. *Detroit, Institute of Arts*



Plate
139



Supp. 135 | Supp. 134

Add. 136 | Supp. 134

Supp. 135. Rogier. Portrait of a Man with a Pink. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bache Collection. Supp. 134.

Rogier. Portrait of a Man. With Reverse. Maidenhead Thicket, Stubbings House, Thomas Merton Collection. Add. 136.

Rogier, follower. Lamentation. San Diego, Cal., Museum of Fine Arts



A. V. van der Stockt. *Lazarus Raised from the Dead*. Madrid, *Marquesa de Camporreal Collection*. B., C. Shütters: Donor and St. John the Baptist, Oberlin, *Allen Memorial Art Museum*; Female Donor and St. Margaret, Rochester, N.Y., *Rochester Memorial Art Gallery*. D., E. Shütters: Adam and Eve Mourning over the Body of Abel; Jacob's Grief at the Sight of the Robes of Joseph. Kiev, *National Museum of Fine Arts, Khanenko Collection*



Add. 147

Add. 148 | Add. 149

Add. 147. Attributed to the Master of Flémalle. Triptych with the Entombment. *London, Count Antoine Seilern Collection.* Add. 148. Master of Flémalle, Portrait of a man. *London, National Gallery.* Add. 149. Attributed to the Master of Flémalle. Fragment, St. John the Baptist. *Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art*



Add. 151 | Add. 144
Add. 152 |

Add. 151. Master of Flémalle, follower. *Madonna of Humility*. Brussels, Collection of the late Baronne Gendebien.
Add. 144. After Rogier (?). Drawing. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Formerly Leipzig, F. Becker Collection. Add. 152.
Master of Flémalle, studio? *Virgin and Child with Saints*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection



Add. 153 | Add. 160
Add. 159 |

Add. 153. Master of Flémalle, follower. Holy Family. *Le Puy, Treasury of the Cathedral*. Add. 160. V. van der Stockt. Annunciation. *Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Add. 159. V. van der Stockt. Adoring Angel; Angel Playing the Harp. *Madrid, Private Collection*



A | B
 C |

A. Portrait of Rogier. Engraving by H. Cock, 1572. B. Portrait of Rogier. Drawing in the Arras Codex. Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale. C. Portrait of Rogier (?). Detail of the Tapestry with the Justice of Emperor Trajan. Berne, Historisches Museum

Early Netherlandish Painting

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- III Dieric Bouts and Joos van Ghent
- IV Hugo van der Goes
- V Geertgen van Haarlem and Hieronymus Bosch
- VI Memling and Gerard David
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